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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

VOYAGES,

TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,

FROM THE

TIME OF COLUMBUS

TO THE

PRESENT PERIOD.

"Non apis inde tulit collectos sedula flores."

Ovid.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

VOL. IV.

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PETER KOLBEN, A. M.

TO THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

KOLBEN was a gentleman and a scholar. Nature formed him for a traveller, and education qualified him to describe what he saw. His account of the Hottentots has been long esteemed for its accuracy and authenticity, and forms the basis of subsequent compilations; and though following travellers have superseded some part of his remarks, by fuller details from fresher sources, his voyage will always retain a place in every respectable collection of this kind.

When a man, so well qualified to write and to observe as Kolben was, gives his narrative in the first person, we should be doing an injustice to our readers, did we alter his manner or his style. The alterations or omissions which we shall make will be only such as Kolben would have made, had he lived till the present period, and written in the English language.

As I had early, says our author, felt an ardent desire to travel, it may be imagined what a transport of joy I felt, when I was informed by my ge-

nerous patron, Baron Van Krosick, privy counsellor to his Prussian majesty, and whom I had the honour to serve in quality of secretary, that if it met my approbation, he was ready to send me, at his own charge, to reside at the Cape of Good Hope, in order to make astronomical observations in that distant extremity of Africa. With the deepest sense of gratitude I expressed my acknowledgments for this unsolicited goodness; and my noble patron having settled an annual salary for my maintenance, I prepared for my voyage. From Berlin I proceeded to Amsterdam, where I embarked on board the Union, one of the Dutch East India ships then lying in the Texel.

It was on the 8th of January 1705, that the Union set sail, with eight more of the Company's ships, bound for the East Indies; and on the 13th of March, steering round St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, we had a distinct view of the rocks and mountains, and of the situation and extent of the city bearing the same name.

After saluting the castle of the harbour of Braya with fifteen guns, which was returned, we were visited by a Portuguese gentleman, accompanied by a negro Romish priest, who had been educated at the university of St. Jago, and received orders, the better to promote the conversion of his countrymen. They were liberally entertained on board; and the father, besides other things, ate at least two pounds of Dutch cheese and drank an astonishing quantity of brandy; after which he sung, danced, and shewed so many extravagancies, as convinced us all, that
though

though he might be but an indifferent priest, he would make an excellent harlequin.

At parting, this ecclesiastic invited several of us to dine with him, and to view what he called his fine library. The invitation was accepted; and two days after we waited on him at his house, where he received and entertained us in the best style he could; making a display of his library, which consisted of a body of the civil law, (of which he gave us to understand he was doctor) some popish legends, and a few breviaries.

On the 18th we paid a visit to the governor at the castle. He introduced us to his lady, who was surrounded by several women, in her own apartment, and received us with much politeness; furnishing us with a repast of bread, butter, and cheese; which civility we returned by making her a present of a paper of tobacco, which she and attendants began smoking in our presence.

During our stay at Braya, it was in contemplation to take a trip to St. Jago, but we were dissuaded from this design. The ways were represented as steep and rugged, and the ground so hot and parched, from a deficiency of rain, that the slaves sometimes fainted by the way for want of refreshments.

Meanwhile, the ships wooded, watered, and took in fresh provisions, together with every species of fruit produced here, which were so uncommonly cheap, that I purchased one hundred sweet oranges for half a paper of pins, and five fat fowls for the other half.

We left the harbour of Braya on the 19th of March. After encountering several tempests of

thunder and lightning; on the 9th of April, a vivid flash, followed by a noise like the report of a cannon, startled all on board. The captain, who was at breakfast in the cabin, supposing that some person had presumed to discharge one of the great guns, ran in a rage to punish the aggressor, when, to his astonishment, he found the foremast shivered by the lightning; but no farther injury done to any one. When we began to reflect, that under this lay the powder room, in which we had three thousand quintals of that dangerous commodity, every man's heart sunk within him; and I should hope felt some sensations of gratitude to the author of our preservation.

On the 10th of June, we descried the Cape of Good Hope, and next day anchored safely in the harbour. Being introduced to the governor, and having produced my recommendatory letters, that gentleman received me in a very friendly and affable manner, and soon assigned me a commodious habitation.

Notwithstanding the Cape of Good Hope was discovered so early by the Portuguese as 1493, not one of them landed there till five years afterwards; when the Portuguese admiral, Rio d'Infante, went ashore, in his voyage to India. On his return, he depicted the advantages of the place in such strong colours to King Emanuel, that it was resolved to form a settlement there; but this was not immediately carried into execution.

At length Francisco d'Almadei, viceroy of Brasil, returning from his government with a fleet for Portugal, took his course by the Cape; and casting anchor there, sent a party on shore to traffic for cattle; but they were repulsed by the natives.

natives, and driven back to the ships. On this, the viceroy was importuned to land them again with a reinforcement: and to put himself and eleven captains at their head. His excellency yielded with reluctance, and seemed to presage the issue; for having got into the long-boat, with a dejected look, he exclaimed, "Ah whither do you carry seventy years!" for that was his age.

Being landed, one of the men refusing to give a Hottentot a pair of brass buckles he had in his shoes, which the savage wished for, this unwillingness to oblige was construed into an insult, and gave rise to a bloody affray. The Hottentots who were present espoused the cause of their countryman, and fell on the Portuguese with such fury, that seventy-five of them were laid dead on the shore, among whom was the aged viceroy, while the rest fled in confusion to their ships.

Mortified at this loss and disgrace, the Portuguese vowed revenge; but after smothering it for two or three years, a fleet from the Indies touched here; and the Portuguese knowing what a value the natives set on brass, landed a large brass cannon, deeply loaded, to the mouth of which they fastened two long ropes. The Hottentots, transported with joy at the sight of so large a piece of their admired metal, laid hold of the two ropes in great numbers, as they were directed, in order to drag it along. Thus a great body of them extending in two files, full in the range of the shot, were suddenly cut off. The slaughter was terrible, and those who escaped with life, fled up into the country in the wildest consternation. After this exploit, which reflected little credit on the Portuguese, they re-embark-

embarked, fatiated with revenge; and from that day forwards, the very sight of fire arms has been the cause of terror to the Hottentots.

There are no documents to prove that any Europeans afterwards landed at the Cape, till the year 1600; when it began to be visited by the French, Dutch, and English, in their different voyages to and from the east. However, in 1650, a Dutch fleet anchoring before it, Mr. Van Riebeck, one of the surgeons, observing that the country was well stocked with cattle, the soil rich, the harbour commodious, and the people tractable, digested his observations; and on his return to Holland, laid them before the Directors of the India Company; who, after mature deliberation, resolved to attempt a settlement at the Cape, without loss of time.

Accordingly four ships were immediately ordered out on that design, with all the materials, implements, and artificers requisite for such an expedition. Van Riebeck was appointed governor and commander in chief of the settlement he had projected, with power to treat with the Hottentots, and make what regulations he should find necessary.

With these four ships, Van Riebeck arrived safe at the Cape, and so captivated the natives by his address, good humour, and generous distribution of insignificant presents among them, that a treaty was instantly concluded. For the trifling consideration of goods, liquors, and toys, to the amount of fifty thousand guilders, they bartered away their independence, gave the Dutch full liberty to settle, and resigned them a considerable track of country.

The settlement being thus firmly established, increased to such a degree, that in a few years the Dutch extended themselves in new colonies along the coast. They now form four principal settlements: the first is at the Cape, where are the grand forts, and the capital city called the Cape, in which and its vicinity are many elegant habitations; the second is Hellenboghish; the third the Drakenston; and the fourth the Waverish colony. The company have likewise provided for a future increase of people, by purchasing all the track of land called Terra du Natal, for which they paid in toys to the amount of thirty thousand guilders.

But to return to Van Riebeck. This gentleman adopted the wisest plans of protecting and extending his infant colony, and in nothing did he act more prudently than in conciliating the affection of the natives, a defence which no force, no power can give. Having erected some necessary buildings, he set about planting the seeds he had brought from Europe, on a piece of land two leagues up the country, part on a hill and part in a vale, dividing the ground into a vineyard, a fruit, flower, and kitchen garden.

Prosperity crowning all his endeavours, the company offered sixty acres of land to every person who chose to settle at the Cape; on condition that he should not only maintain himself on his farm within the space of three years, but also contribute at a certain rate to the support of the garrison. At the expiration, however, of three years, every one was at liberty to sell or make over his land, and to quit the settlement.

Encouraged by these liberal proposals, and by the ready assistance given to such as were not
able

able to provide themselves with domestic utensils and implements of agriculture, great numbers emigrated to the Cape; and the colony soon made a considerable figure; but all this while there was an increasing evil, against which no provision had been made. European women were very scarce, and none of the planters shewed the least inclination to form connections with the native females. Thus, without constant importations, the settlement would have soon fallen into decay, had not the company levied a fine troop of young women in Amsterdam, and consigned them to the Governor of the Cape, who bestowed them on such as wanted wives, with all the indulgence that could be shewn in such an extraordinary occasion to their several fancies and inclinations.

The greatest part of the country, in the vicinity of the Cape, is rocky and mountainous, which, long after the discovery, being only viewed at a distance, was considered as sterile and incapable of cultivation; but the spacious tops of the mountains are covered with rich meadows, enamelled with a variety of flowers, of extraordinary beauty and fragrance; and are watered with many delicious springs, which meander through the vallies. In clear weather, the mountains are to be seen at fifteen leagues distance. On their skirts rise numerous groves, that afford excellent wood for the joiners and turners use. The champaign parts of the country are so luxuriantly beautiful as to enchant every beholder. They are adorned with all that can embellish, captivate the eye, and recreate the other senses.

The soil is so rich as to be susceptible of every kind of culture: it bears all kinds of grain, and every

every species of fruit. Salt is produced in abundance; and hot baths of mineral waters, that have been found salutary in many diseases, are interspersed throughout the country. This climate however is subject to boisterous winds, which generally blow from the south-east, while the sun is in the southern signs, and from the north-west, while in the northern signs. But these winds, while they are injurious to the trees and corn, are of essential service in purifying the air, and thereby contributing to health, which, in a continuance of calm weather, is generally affected, but restored to its equilibrium with the return of the usual gales.

The Cape Town*, which extends from the seashore to the valley, is large and regularly built; containing several spacious streets, with handsome houses, adorned with spacious courts in front, and beautiful gardens behind. The streets, the court-yards, the houses, every thing about them, are neat and clean to the extreme. The houses are of stone; but most of them are only one story high, and none more than two, on account of the violence of the easterly winds; and for the same reason, most of them have no heavier covering than thatch.

Building is very much encouraged here by the Dutch East India Company; for if a person is inclined to erect a house, whether contiguous to the town or in the country, he has ground allot-

* We have thought proper to give Kolben's description of the Cape Town, as it appeared about the beginning of the present century. The view of a place at different periods and by different optics, never fails to be interesting: the scene becomes new by the light in which it is placed.

ted to him gratis, extensive enough for a handsome edifice, offices, and gardens.

The castle is a very strong and stately structure, of large extent, provided with all manner of accommodations for the garrison, which consists of about two hundred soldiers. By its situation it covers the harbour, and is an excellent fortress. The superior officers of the company have very spacious and beautiful lodgings within its walls; besides which, it contains the company's storehouses, commodiously arranged.

The church is a plain, neat edifice, built of stone; but both the body and steeple are thatched. There is an hospital in the town for the sick, situated near the company's garden, and large enough to accommodate several hundreds of patients. This is of the utmost importance, as scarcely any ship arrives at the Cape, either from Europe or the Indies, without having a considerable number of sick on board; and the vessel is no sooner at anchor than the diseased are conveyed to the hospital, where they are decently lodged, and supplied with vegetables, fresh provisions, and medicines. Those who are in a convalescent state, are indulged with the use of the company's garden, from which the hospital is supplied with roots and herbs, both culinary and medicinal.

This garden is perhaps the most extraordinary in the world; as it contains all the rich fruits, the beautiful flowers, and most of the valuable plants to be found in Asia, Africa, and America. There are also many large and fine gardens about the town, belonging to the inhabitants, which are all kept in excellent order. The profusion

fusion of flowers at the Cape replenishes the air with the most delicious perfumes.

The Cape Town contains a large building, called the lodge, assigned for the use of the company's slaves, who are chiefly brought from Madagascar. This edifice is divided into two wards, one for the accommodation of each sex; with a large room, in which the slaves receive and eat their allowance; and a strong prison, in which the drunken and disobedient are confined and punished. It has decent apartments for the officers who superintend the slaves, and a school for the education of their children.

The company has also a very handsome range of stables, capable of containing several hundred horses; and here a great number of fine Persian horses are kept, for the service of the company and the use of the governor; who has under him a master of the horse, and other inferior officers. Even his body coachman is esteemed a considerable person.

The government of this colony is conducted by the eight following councils. First, the grand council of policy, consisting of the governor, who is perpetual president, and eight others; generally the next principal officers in the company's service. This council superintends trade and navigation, and corresponds not only with the court of directors in Holland, but with the Dutch government at Batavia and Ceylon; and has in short the management of every thing relative to the safety and interest of the settlement.

The second is the college of justice, which generally consists of the same members as the preceding. This court hears and determines all civil and criminal causes of importance that happen
among

among the Europeans at the Cape. But if an European, who is not in the company's service, is either plaintiff or defendant, the three regent burgomasters, annually chosen out of such as are not in the company's pay, assist at the trial, to see that there is no partiality in favour of the company's dependants. Appeals lie from the decisions of this court to the supreme court of justice in Batavia, and also to the supreme court in Holland.

The third is a petty court, dependant on the last, for punishing breaches of the peace, and settling trespasses and small debts. It is composed of a member of the grand council, three of the burghers, and four of the company's immediate servants. Copies of all their proceedings, in this court and in the college of justice, are, from time to time, transmitted to Holland.

The fourth is the court of marriages, which superintends all contracts of this kind among the Europeans at the Cape, takes care that the consent of the parents and guardians of both parties is obtained, and that there is no pre-contract or engagement with any other person. These points being investigated and settled, a warrant is granted to the pastor of the parish where the parties live, authorizing him to publish the banns of marriage, and to perform the ceremony. This court consists of the same members with the petty court aforementioned.

The fifth is the chamber of orphans, which is composed of the vice-president of the grand council, three of the company's servants, and three burghers. Orphans of fortune cannot marry here without the concurrence of this chamber, till twenty-five years of age.

The sixth is the ecclesiastical college, instituted for the government of the three reformed churches at the Cape, and for the proper application of the money given for the use of the poor. It consists of the three pastors, the two elders of each church, and twelve overseers of the poor; each parish having four. So careful is this council in the impartial application of the charitable collections and donations, that not a beggar is to be seen in the whole settlement.

The seventh is a court of common council. In every colony there is a separate court of this kind, consisting of a certain number of burghers. In the Cape Town, this council proposes matters in favour of the burghers to the grand council, and collects the imposts. But, in the colonies, this body hears and determines in all debts and trespasses not exceeding one hundred and fifty florins; and also tries and punishes most crimes committed within its jurisdiction.

The eighth is for the regulation of the militia. These boards are double: one for the Cape Town, the other for the colonies.

Some authors have represented the Hottentots as so brutal and so totally incapable of reflection, as to be destitute of any sense of religion, or of any notion of order or decency. By such writers, they have been depicted as scarcely possessing the least glimpse of reason or humanity; but this character is far from being true. Many of them understand Dutch, French, and Portuguese, to a great degree of perfection; and I knew one who acquired French and Portuguese in a very short time; and, having conquered the habits and pronunciation contracted from his native language, was said, by good judges, to under-

stand and speak them with a surprising facility and propriety.

They are perhaps the most faithful servants in the universe; and so fond are the Europeans of them in that capacity, that they seldom discharge them, or part with them, without regret. Though extremely addicted to wine, brandy, and tobacco, and ready to purchase them at the expence of all that is most valuable to them, they will neither themselves make free with those commodities, when committed to their trust, nor suffer others to do it.

Indeed, it is surprising to observe the care and fidelity which they display on these trying occasions. And so high is their character, for integrity, that they are sometimes employed in affairs that require judgment and capacity. A Hottentot, named Cloas, had such honour and discernment, that he was often intrusted by Mr. Vander Stel, the late governor at the Cape, with large quantities of wine, brandy, rice, and other commodities; and employed in exchanging them for cattle, among the remote tribes of his countrymen, attended only by a guard of two armed men. He generally executed his commissions with address and reputation, and returned the governor cattle, in quality and value, superior to what might have been expected. To these qualities he joined the greatest humanity and good nature; and notwithstanding the ignorance in which he was born, and in which, as far as respected religion, he always lived, his morals were most excellent, and his charity and benevolence equal to those of the best men who act on religious principles. Many an European in distress has been relieved by this generous, good-

good-hearted creature; who, by means of a handsome flock of cattle, in which the wealth of the Hottentots chiefly consists, was well able to follow the amiable bias of his heart, in doing good.

Nevertheless, it must be confessed, that the Hottentots seem to place their whole earthly happiness in sloth and indolence. They are capable of reflection, when they please to exert their powers; but they hate the trouble of thought, and look on every exercise of the reasoning faculty as a tormenting agitation of the mind. They therefore banish cogitation, except when some pressing want is to be relieved, or some danger obviated. If the Hottentot is not roused by some present appetite or necessity, he remains as listless as a log; but when urged by these, he is all activity. Having, however, obtained the gratification solicited, he relaxes again into his native indolence, till some new stimulus excites his dormant faculties.

It has been said, that all the Hottentots, without distinction, devour the entrails of beasts with all their original filth, only half broiled; and that, whether fresh or putrid, they consider them as the choicest delicacies; but this is an exaggeration. I always found, that, when they intended to feast on entrails, they turned and stripped them of their filth, and washed them in clean water. They then boiled them in the blood of the beast, if it was to be procured; if not, they gave them a thorough broiling. This, however, is done in such an uncleanly manner, as must be loathing to any European.

But, disgusting as their style of dressing provisions is, those who adhere to the diet of their country have few diseases, are seldom ailing,

and live to an extreme old age. Such, however, as drink wine or other strong liquors, suffer diseases before unknown in the climate, and shorten their span of life: even the meat, dressed and seasoned after the European manner, is very pernicious in respect to them.

What chiefly renders the Hottentots a nasty race, is a custom observed from their earliest years, of besmearing their bodies and apparel, (which is only a skin thrown over their shoulders, and another fastened round their waist) with mutton fat, marrow, or butter, mixed with the soot which collects round their boiling pots. This gives them a blacker hue; for they are naturally of a nut or olive colour; and the same process is repeated as often as the grease is dried up by the sun or dust, if they are able to procure either fat or butter.

The meaner sort, however, are obliged to content themselves with what is become rancid; but the more opulent besmear themselves with the freshest and choicest unctuous substance that can be procured. No part of the body, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, escapes this paint; and their skins are entirely saturated with it. The richer they are, the more fat and butter they employ; for the liberal application of this unction constitutes the grand distinction between the poor and the rich. However, they all abominate the use of fishes fat.

This rubbing and greasing promotes the suppleness and activity of the body; and the Hottentots, though a lazy race, are perhaps the fleetest in the world; for, they not only dart away from the swiftest European, but frequently outrun a very fleet horse. Besides, living al-
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most in a state of nudity, in a region where the sun's heat is very considerable all the year round, by closing their pores with fat, they prevent that excessive perspiration which would, in all probability, exhaust and destroy them.

Suffering their hair to be matted together with dirt and fat, the offensive smell, arising from these nasty habits, and their abominable lousiness, render them completely disagreeable in their persons. Add to this, their language is a composition of the most uncouth sounds that ever were uttered by human beings; and their pronunciation, depending on such collisions of the tongue against the palate, and on such strange vibrations and inflections of that member, as a foreigner cannot easily imitate, they are neither capable of communicating their speech to others, nor can words describe its use.

The Hottentots are neither so small of stature nor so deformed and wrinkled as some have described them. Most of the males are from five to six feet high; but the females are considerably less. Both sexes, however, are very erect and well made; keeping a due medium between leanness and obesity. There is not a crooked limb, or other piece of deformity to be seen among them; which is the more remarkable, as they take much less care of their children than European women do.

Their heads are generally large, and their eyes are proportionably so. Their general mien, however, is so far from being wild and terrible, that it is sweet and composed, and expressive of the highest benevolence and good nature. Their most disagreeable features are their flat nose and their thick lips, particularly the uppermost; but
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the depression of their noses is the effect of art. Their teeth are white as ivory; and their cheeks have something of the cherry; but from their continual daubings, their natural complexion is not easily discerned. The men have large broad feet; but those of the women are small and tender. Neither men nor women pare the nails of either fingers or toes.

What, however, distinguishes the Hottentot females from all others, is a callosity which decency forbids us to describe; but which, so far from being considered as a deformity, is regarded rather as the criterion of beauty. Thevenot, in his travels, says, that the women of some other African nations have the same unnatural excrescence, but stop its growth; whereas there is good reason for believing, that the Hottentots encourage it.

In hot weather, the men have their heads constantly uncovered, except what fat, soot, and dirt, mat their hair. This disgusting protection, they say, keeps their heads cool, under the fiercest sun beams; but in cold and wet seasons, they wear caps made of lamb or cat skins, which they fasten on with strings. The face and fore part of the neck, however, are always exposed.

About the man's neck hangs a little greasy bag, in which he carries his pipe and tobacco, with a little piece of wood, of a finger's length, burnt at both ends, reckoned an infallible amulet against witchcraft.

Their krosses, as they term them, or the mantles they hang over their shoulders, are wore open or closed according to the season. The krosses of the most wealthy are formed of tiger
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or wild cat skins: those of the common people are sheep skins. In winter, the hairy side is worn inwards, and in summer, outwards. These form their beds during the night; and when they die, they are wrapped up and interred in them.

They generally wear three ivory rings on the left arm, formed of elephant's teeth, and fitted with such art and exactness, as cannot be surpassed in Europe. These rings or bracelets serve as guards, when they fight against an enemy; and when they travel, they fasten their provision bag to them, which is so adapted as to be scarcely an incumbrance.

From their waists are suspended what they call a kull-cross, a square piece of the skin of some wild beast, tied on with the hairy side outwards. When they drive their herds to pasture, they equip themselves in a kind of leather stockings, to secure their legs from being lacerated by briars and thorns. In passing over rocks and sands, they put on sandals, cut out of the raw hide of an ox or an elephant; each consisting of only one piece, turning up about half an inch quite round the foot, with the hairy side outermost, and fastened on with thongs.

The women always appear in caps of skins, pointing spirally from the crown of the head. They generally wear two krosses round their shoulders, which, like those of the men, cover their backs, and sometimes depend to their hams. Between these krosses they fasten their sucking children, with the head just peeping over their shoulders. The under kross serves to prevent their bodies from being fretted by their burden. About their neck is tied a string, to which is fastened a leather bag, which is constantly

stantly worn from morning till night, both at home and abroad ; it contains some kind of food, a pipe, tobacco, and other necessaries.

The girls, till they arrive at the age of puberty, wear bullrushes tied in rings round their legs, from the knees downwards. These fillets are then laid aside, and their place is supplied with rings of the thickness of a little finger, made of slips of sheep or calf skin, from which the hair is singed : for it must be observed, that the Hottentot sheep have nothing like wool. Some of the women have above one hundred of these rings upon each leg, so curiously joined, and so nicely fitted to each other, that they exhibit the appearance of elegant turnery. They are smooth, and as hard as wood ; and in dancing, an usual exercise, make a clattering noise. Wrappers of leather or rushes about the ankles prevent these rings from slipping over their heels ; and as the women are daily obliged to walk through bushes and brambles, to gather roots and other articles for food, these preserve their legs from being wounded.

Besides, these fillets are one grand distinction of sex, and form a principal female ornament ; nor is this all, in case of a scarcity of provisions, they are a resource always at hand.

However, the grand articles of finery among both sexes are brass buttons, and plates of the same metal, which they buy of the Dutch, and then polish to an astonishing lustre, and fix in their hair. They are likewise fond of bits of looking glasses, which they likewise fasten to their hair, and consider as very splendid ornaments. Diamonds are not more admired and esteemed in Europe,

Europe, than these trinkets in the Hottentot nations.

They also wear small ear-rings made of brass wire, which they always polish very neatly; and to those rings the more opulent hang bits of mother of pearl, to which they have the art of giving a curious shape and polish. Of such advantages, in point of ornament, they are extremely proud; for when thus adorned, they imagine they cannot fail to attract the notice of all spectators.

To their commerce with the Europeans, they also owe several other personal ornaments, such as brass and glass beads, of which they are extravagantly fond. Scarcely a Hottentot, of either sex, can be met with, who is not decorated with some of them. But the preference is usually given to brass beads, because they are more durable, and less exposed to accidents. These they wear in necklaces, bracelets, and girdles, of which every person has more or fewer, according to his circumstances. Almost every part of the body is covered with some of these ornaments, for which they will part with their cattle freely. If they serve the Europeans, they always stipulate for some ear-rings, in part of wages, if they are not already provided.

It is an invariable custom among the men, to wear bladders of the wild beasts they have killed, blown up and fastened to their hair; which are at once considered as ornaments of dress and trophies of prowess.

But with all this finery, the men do not reckon themselves completely dressed, unless their hair be also lavishly powdered, with a pulverized herb, called buchu; and this being done, they
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are beaux and grandes, and appear in their utmost magnificence.

As the hair of the women is constantly hid under their caps, they lay this powder as thick as they can on their foreheads, where, being incorporated with the grease, it sticks very firmly. They also paint their faces with a reddish earth, with which they make a spot over each eye, one upon the nose, one upon each cheek, and one upon the chin. These red dots are regarded as striking attractions; and therefore it is their constant practice, when invited to festive assemblies, or intend to make a conquest: but however beautiful this may appear in the eyes of a Hottentot, an European would only conceive disgust from the practice.

It would be unnecessary, on this occasion, to particularize the various Hottentot nations disseminated over this track of the continent of Africa. This subject will be more properly treated when we come to travels. We must not, however, omit our author's accurate description of the political customs and religious observances among this singular people.

Each of the Hottentot tribes or nations has a chief, whose office is to command the army; and without whose concurrence they can neither make peace nor war. This office is hereditary*; but he is not permitted to enter upon its exercise till he has solemnly engaged in a national as-

* Thus we see that among some of the most uncivilized nations on the globe, there are hereditary distinctions; a proof that they are either founded in nature, or confirmed by obvious utility.

sembly, not to attempt the subversion of the old form of government.

Anciently, the chief was distinguished only by the beauty of the skins of which his kroffes were composed; but the Dutch, soon after their establishment at the Cape, made a present of a brass crown to the superior of every nation in alliance with them, which they have since worn on solemn occasions. However, in time of peace, the chief has little else to do, but to govern the kraal, or village, where he fixes his residence.

The captain of a kraal preserves the peace, and administers justice; and from his sentence lies no appeal. State criminals, however, are tried by a chief, assisted by the captains of kraals. In time of war, the captain commands the troops of his village, under the chief of the nation. His office is also hereditary, though, as in the former instance, he cannot execute it till he has solemnly pledged himself, in presence of the people, not to alter or deviate from the ancient laws and institutions of the kraal. These functionaries were likewise originally distinguished only by the fineness of their furs, which were those of tigers or wild cats; but all of them have now a cane, with a brass head, given them by the Dutch; which badge of dignity descends with the office. Neither the chiefs of the nations, nor these captains, have any revenue from the public, or any perquisite attending the execution of their office: honour is their only stimulus and reward.

The captain of a kraal decides all disputes of right and property, and tries and punishes for murder, theft, adultery, and other crimes committed within his jurisdiction, being assisted by
all

all the men of the kraal. Whenever a dispute about property arises, the captain summons all the men of the kraal into the open field, who squat down in a circle. The plaintiff and defendant plead their own causes; and the witnesses on both sides are heard. The depositions being finished, the captain, after some debate, collects the voices, and immediately pronounces the decree according to the majority; when full and quiet possession is instantly given to the party in whose favour the decree passes.

The principal criminal matters which employ the kraal courts are murder, robbery, and adultery; for the latter is punished with death. When a Hottentot is known or suspected to have committed any of these crimes, notice is given to all the men of the kraal to which he belongs; who, considering themselves as officers of justice, keep a sharp look out, in order to seize the accused; and it is in vain for him to think of finding sanctuary in any other Hottentot nation; as he would infallibly be taken up for a fugitive or a spy.

The criminal being apprehended, he is secured till the men of the kraal can assemble, which is done with as much expedition as possible. The court sitting squat upon their hams, in a circle, the prisoner is placed in the centre: for the Hottentots remark, that in an affair where a man's life is at stake, he ought to have the best situation for hearing and being heard.

The prisoner having taken his place, the charge against him is pronounced by the prosecutor; and then the prosecutor's witnesses give their evidence. Next the prisoner makes his defence, calling his own witnesses to corroborate his

his testimony, who are heard with the utmost indulgence.

The captain then, after some debates on the evidence, collects the voices : a majority of which either acquits or condemns. If he is acquitted, the court assigns him damages out of the prosecutor's cattle. If he is convicted, and judged worthy of death, sentence is immediately pronounced. The court rises, while the prisoner does not even stir a limb. A momentary silence ensues, when suddenly the captain flies at the prisoner, and with one blow on the head, with his kirri, lays him sprawling on the ground. This is seconded by the rest, who rush forwards, and striking with all their might, the criminal instantly expires. Then bending the corps neck and heels, they wrap it up in its krofs, and bury it with every article of ornament or apparel, except the brass decorations, which are given to the family or heir ; who suffer nothing either in name, privilege, or property. The family, relations, and friends of the criminal are treated with the same respect as before ; and every thing proceeds as if no such misfortune had fallen upon them.

By a singular refinement of policy among this rude people, all their riches descend to the eldest son ; or, when a son is wanting, to the next male relation ; and the younger sons of a Hottentot, who are at home and unprovided for at the death of the father, are at the courtesy of the eldest, both with respect to fortune and liberty.

Marriage between first and second cousins is forbidden, and punished by being cudgelled to death ; yet a Hottentot may have as many wives as he is able to maintain, though the richest sel-

dom engross more than three. A man may have a divorce from his wife, and a woman from her husband, on shewing such cause as shall appear satisfactory to the men of the kraal. But one of the most satisfactory of their laws is, that a widow, for every husband she marries after the first, is obliged to cut off the joint of a finger; which she presents to her new husband on the wedding day, beginning at one of the little fingers first.

The Hottentots are blessed in an exemption from lawyers, and the only public functionaries, besides those already enumerated, are the physician and the priest. In every village there is a physician, and the large ones have two, who possess a smattering of botany, surgery, and medicine. They are chosen out of the sages of each kraal, and appointed to superintend the health of the inhabitants. This they perform without fee or reward; the honour of the employment being deemed a sufficient recompence for their trouble and attention.

These quacks suffer no one to see them gather and prepare their remedies; for all their compositions are kept a profound secret; and if a patient dies under their hands, they constantly affirm, that all their medicines were rendered inefficacious by the effects of withcraft.

At the Cape, the priest is a subordinate character to the physician. His office is also elective; but his duty neither obliges him to pray for the people, nor to instruct them in religious matters. He only presides at their sacrifices, and has the ordering of all their ceremonies.

As the chief of a Hottentot nation presides over the captains of kraals, so the Hottentots call the

the Supreme Being the Great Captain. They believe him to be the Creator of all things, the Governor of the world, and that he is endowed with unsearchable perfections. The common appellation is Gounja Gounja, or Gounja Tiquoa, the God of all gods. They say that he is a good Being, who does no body any harm; and that he dwells far above the moon; but it does not appear that they address any act of devotion immediately to him. Their religious adorations are paid to what they call inferior deities, dependant on him: for the most intelligent of the natives, when they are in a humour to answer interrogatories on this subject, say, that their first parents so grievously offended the God of gods, that he cursed them with hardness of heart; therefore, they know little of him, and have still less inclination to serve him *.

The moon is reckoned an inferior visible god. They call this planet likewise Gounja, or God; and say that it is the subject and representative of the High and Invisible. They assemble for the celebration of its worship at the change and full; and no inclemency of the weather prevents this act of devotion. They then throw their bodies into a thousand different postures, scream, prostrate themselves on the ground, jump suddenly, stamp as if distracted, and cry aloud, "I salute thee; thou art welcome! grant us fodder for our cattle, and milk in abundance." These and other apostrophes to the moon they repeat over and over, singing Ho, ho, ho, reiterated

* May not the fall of man be veiled in this tradition? and are not those, who entertain such a belief, prepared to embrace the promises of Christianity?

many times, with a variation of notes, accompanied with clapping of hands. Thus they spend the whole night in worshipping this planet, which they consider as the ruler and dispenser of the weather.

They likewise adore, as a benign deity, a certain insect, said to be peculiar to the Hottentot countries. It is of the size of a child's little finger: the back is green, and the belly speckled with red and white. It has two wings, and two horns on its head.

Whenever this insect appears, they pay it the highest tokens of veneration; and if it honours a kraal with a visit, the inhabitants assemble round it in transports of devotion. They sing and dance, troop after troop, in extasies, throwing near it the powder of buchu, with which they cover the area of the kraal, and the tops of the cots. They likewise kill two fat sheep as a thank-offering for this distinguished honour; and fancy all their past offences are buried in oblivion.

If this divine insect happens to light upon a Hottentot, he is considered as a man without guilt; and ever after revered as a saint. The fattest ox is immediately killed for a thank-offering, and eaten in honour of the deity and the saint. The latter feasts alone on the entrails, which are boiled; while the men devour the meat dressed in a similar manner, and the women are regaled with the broth. The fat is very carefully preserved to anoint the body and apparel of the saint; and while it lasts, it is exclusively used for this purpose.

But the most singular part of the ceremony is, that the caul of the ox, well powdered with
buchu,

buchu, and twisted like a rope, is tied round his neck ; and he is obliged to wear it day and night till it rots off, or till the insect, at a subsequent visit, lights on some other inhabitant of the kraal, when the first is at liberty to remove it. The case is the same, if the insect lights on a woman : she instantly commences a faint with the same ceremonies ; but here only the women feast on the meat, while the men are regaled with the broth.

These simple people will run any hazard to procure the safety of this animal. A German, who had a country seat about six miles from the fort, having given leave to some Hottentots to turn their cattle upon his domain, they removed to the place with their kraal. A son of this gentleman was amusing himself among them, when the deified insect appeared. The Hottentots flew tumultuously to adore it, while the youth ran to catch it, to observe the effects such a capture would produce. He seized it in the midst of them : but how great was the general cry and agony, when they saw it in his hand ! They stared at him, and at each other, with looks of distraction. " See, see, see," cried they, " what he is going to do with it ? will he kill it, will he kill it ?" Meanwhile every nerve quivered with fear. Observing their distress, he asked them why they were in such agonies for that paltry insect ? " Ah ! Sir," replied they, with the utmost concern, " it is a divinity—it is come from Heaven—it is come on a good design. Ah ! do not hurt it : do not offend it. If you do, we shall be the most miserable wretches on earth. This ground will lie under a curse, and the crime will never be forgiven."

The young gentleman affected to be unmoved by their petitions, and seemed as if he intended to maim or destroy it. On this they started and ran about like frantic people ; asking where was his conscience ? and how he dared to think of perpetrating a crime, that would bring down on his head all the vengeance and thunders of Heaven ?

These expostulations being likewise ineffectual, they fell prostrate on the ground, and with streaming eyes, and the loudest bewailings, besought him to spare the object of their adoration, and to give it liberty. The young man now yielded, and let the insect fly ; on which they capered and shouted in a transport of joy, and running after it, paid it the customary veneration.

The Hottentots also pay a kind of religious worship to their deceased saints and men of renown, whom they honour, not with tombs, statues, or inscriptions, but with consecrated woods, mountains, fields, and rivers, to their memory, which they never pass without expressions of regard.

They likewise worship an evil deity, whom they consider as the father of mischief, and the source of all their afflictions. Him they term Touquoa, and say, he is a little, ill-tempered, inferior captain, whose malice will seldom permit him to rest ; and, therefore, they pay him homage in order to avert it, and wheedle him into good humour, by the occasional sacrifice of an ox or a sheep.

In the immortality of the soul they seem to have a general belief ; and therefore, upon the death of any person, they remove their kraals to a new settlement ; from the opinion, that the
dead

dead never haunt any place but that in which he died, unless any thing pertaining to them is carried out of it, and then they imagine, that the departed spirits will follow a kraal, and be very troublesome. Impressed with this idea, they leave the huts in which they died standing; and in them all the utensils belonging to the deceased.

Such is the absurd system of the Hottentot religion, to which they are so much attached, that I never heard of one of them dying a Christian. Though the Dutch have sent missionaries among them, who have undergone numberless fatigues, and taken incredible pains to make converts, it was without effect; and they were compelled, with sorrow, to abandon the generous design, without leaving the least trace of their labours on the minds of the Hottentots. Of this the following incident may serve as a confirmation.

Mr. Vander Stel, governor of the Cape, took an infant Hottentot, whom he educated in the knowledge of Christianity, and according to the polished manners of Europeans; allowing him little or no intercourse with his countrymen. He became well versed in the mysteries of religion, and in several languages. He was always handsomely dressed, and his manners were formed after the best European models at the Cape.

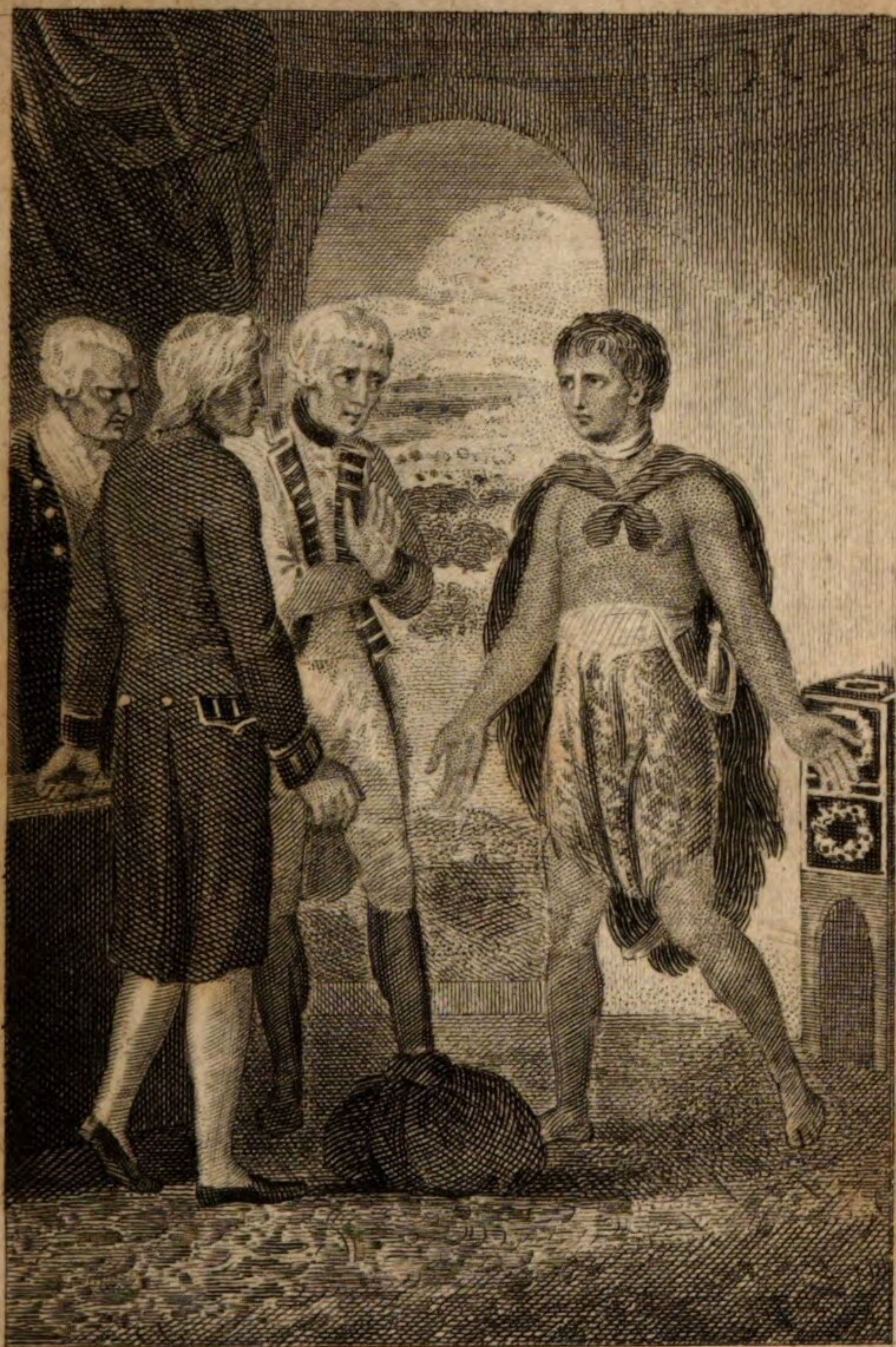
The governor, seeing him thus qualified, entertained great hopes of him, and sent him with a commissary general to the Indies, where he remained employed till the death of the gentleman he served; when he returned to his original patron. A few days after, at a visit among his relations, he stripped himself of his European apparel, and equipped himself in the habit of his country. This done, he packed up his former clothes,

clothes, ran with them to the governor's, and presenting himself before his patron, laid the bundle at his feet, and addressed his excellency to the following purport: "Be pleased, Sir, to take notice, that I for ever renounce this apparel; I likewise, for ever, renounce the Christian religion. It is my design to live and to die in the faith of my fathers, and in conformity to their customs and manners. I shall only beg you will grant me, and I am sure you will not refuse it, the collar and hanger I wear. These I shall keep for your sake."

Here he stopped; and turning his back, fled swiftly away, and never was more seen in that quarter. This man I frequently conversed with up the country, and found, to my amazement, that he had a surprising stock of Christian knowledge. But though I made use of the most persuasive and endearing arguments to call him back into the fold of Christ, he continued deaf to all my reasoning and remonstrances.

We shall now take a cursory view of those ceremonies which partake of a religious nature; and first for the marriage of the Hottentots. If a bachelor or a widower has a mind to marry, he discloses his intentions to his father; and if he be dead, to his next of kin; who, if he consents, attends him to the female's relations; whom they regale with a pipe or two of tobacco, or of dachu, which they all smoke.

The father of the lover then opens the business to the woman's father; which having heard, he generally retires to consult his wife, and soon returns with a final answer, which is seldom unfavourable. If, however, the lover's father receives a denial, nothing more is said; and the
enamorado



Richter del. et sc.

*Singular instance of the attachment
of a Hottentot to his native habits.*

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enamorado at once tears the object from his heart, and looks out for another. If his wish is complied with, the lover chuses two or three fat oxen from his own herd, or his father's, and drives them to the house from which he is to receive his destined bride; accompanied by all his relations of both sexes, not too remote to attend.

The kindred of the woman receive them with careffes: the oxen are immediately slain, and the whole company besmear their bodies with the fat, and then powder themselves, from head to foot with buchu; while the women spot their faces with red earth, as already described. The men then squat down in a circle, in the centre of which is the bridegroom, in the same attitude; while the women form another circle, at some distance, round the bride.

This being done, the priest of the kraal, entering the circle of the men, first urines the bridegroom, which effusion he rubs in with eager pleasure. The priest then advancing to the other circle, evacuates a little upon the bride, who receives it in the same manner. This ceremony is repeated by the priest, from the one to the other, till his whole stock is exhausted, which, with benedictions to the following purport, constitutes the nuptial rites of the Hottentots: "May you live long and happily together. May you have a son before the end of the year. May this son live to be a comfort to you in your old age. May he prove a man of courage, and a good hunter."

These singular cremonies ended, the oxen are cut into many pieces, and the whole dressed: some joints being boiled, the rest roasted. During the entertainment, the men and women sit in different circles: the bridegroom alone eating
in

in the company of the women. The lappets of their greasy mantles supply the place of plates ; but they have spoons of sea-shells.

Dinner being ended, what is left is set by, and they proceed to smoking ; each company having one tobacco pipe. The person who fills it, after taking two or three whiffs, gives it to his or her neighbour ; and thus it goes round. The greatest part of the night is spent in smoking and merriment ; till the bridegroom retires to the arms of his bride, when the company separates.

Next day they assemble again, and feast and smoke as before : and this is repeated, till the provisions dressed on the day of marriage are quite consumed. On these occasions they have neither music nor dancing ; and they use no stronger liquor than their usual beverage, milk and water.

A Hottentot has never a separate hut till after his marriage ; and then his wife assists him, not only in erecting it, but in collecting the materials, which are all new ; and in providing the furniture. This being accomplished, he abandons to her the care and toil of seeking and dressing the family provisions, except when he goes a hunting or fishing. The wife also bears a part in attending the cattle.

At the birth of a child, the parents give a solemn feast, by way of thanksgiving, of which all the inhabitants of the kraal partake. The birth, however, of a first son is always attended with superior demonstrations of joy. Then the parents slay cattle very liberally, for the entertainment of the whole kraal ; and on this auspicious occasion, they receive the zealous congratulations of all their neighbours.

Should

Should it happen that the woman is brought to bed of twins, and they are both boys, they kill two fat bullocks ; and all the inhabitants of the village rejoice at this prolificness as a very great blessing. The mother alone is excluded from the entertainment ; and is only supplied with some of the fat to anoint herself and infants.

However, if the twins are females, there is little or no rejoicing ; and all the sacrifice they make, at the utmost, does not exceed a couple of sheep. On such occasions, they frequently give the lie to these thanksgivings, by a cruel custom, which, though practised indeed by other nations, is repugnant to every sentiment of humanity, every principle of reason. If the parents are poor, or the mother pretends that she is unable to suckle both the girls, the most ordinary of the two is buried alive at a distance from the kraal, cast among the bushes, or tied on its back to the under bough of a tree, where it is left to starve, or to be devoured by birds or beasts of prey *.

An exposed female infant is sometimes found by an European : when, if it be dead, he generally stays to bury it ; if alive, he always takes it home ; and if he cannot breed it up himself, he always finds some person who is disposed to perform this charitable office. Such adopted children receive a good education ; and great care is taken to instruct them thoroughly in the knowledge of Christianity, and to secure them from falling off to the filthy and idolatrous customs of the Hottentots ; but these generous labours have never produced any lasting effect. Not a soli-

* It is with pain we record usages so disgraceful to human nature ; but they shew the value of refinement, and of a benevolent religion operating on the conduct of men.

tary instance has appeared of a Hottentot mind deprived of its native bias; for these unhappy females, no sooner arrive at years of maturity, than flying to their own people, they constantly renounce the principles with which they have been imbued, and the dress to which they have been accustomed; and return to the religion and customs of their ancestors, which they invariably retain.

When the young Hottentot is arrived at the age of eight or nine years, he is deprived of the left testicle, with great ceremony: but the poverty of the parents sometimes occasions this ceremony to be deferred till the age of manhood, it being attended with some expencé. This cruel ceremony is supposed to contribute to the agility of the Hottentot; and this persuasion is reinforced by another idea, not less absurd, that twins would be the consequence of its omission. And should a young man disregard this belief, both he and the woman would lie at the mercy of the rulers; and the woman, for such an infringement of the laws of her country, would be, perhaps, torn to pieces by her own sex.

This is one act of legitimation for matrimony; but it is not the only one. Till youths are about the age of eighteen, they are confined to the tuition of their mothers, and live entirely with them. A second act of legitimation completes their claim to manhood. When the father, or the generality of the men of a kraal, resolve to call a young man into their society, all the inhabitants assemble in the middle of the village, and form a circle on the ground. The young fellow to be admitted, being without the circle, is desired to squat down on his hams; and then the senior in the circle rises, and

and asks, whether the youth without shall be admitted into their society, and made a man? To this all answering Yes, yes! he leaves the circle, and stepping up to the novice, informs him, that the men have thought him worthy to be admitted into their society, and he is now to take an eternal farewell of his mother, the nursery, and all his puerile pursuits; and that if he is ever seen talking to his mother, and does not studiously avoid her company, he will be again considered as a child, and excluded the conversation and society of the men: in fine, that all his thoughts, words, and actions must now be manly. This is repeated, till the sage thinks his admonitions are sufficiently impressed on the mind of his pupil.

The youth having previously well daubed himself with fat and foot, the old man urines him, which the initiated receives with joy, rubbing in the briny fluid with a quickness of action, expressive of his satisfaction at the honour which is done him. The sage then gives him this benediction: "Good fortune attend thee. Live to old age. Increase and multiply. May thy beard soon grow." The youth is then solemnly proclaimed a man; and all the men assembled feast on a sheep, partly roasted, partly boiled.

Should a young man, after this initiation, be seen eating and drinking with the women, he is exposed to the utmost contempt: he becomes the jest and derision of the whole kraal, and is excluded from the society of the men, till the ceremony be performed anew.

Thus freed from the care of his mother, a Hottentot may, without any stigma, be so brutal and unnatural as to cudgel her, to shew his independ-

ence; and it is common, on his admission at least, to go and abuse her with insulting language, as a testimony of the sincerity of his conversion, and of his resolution to follow the advice he has received:

We have already observed, that some of the Hottentots enjoy an honourable kind of distinction, in wearing bladders tied to their hair as trophies of their valour. Such as those who have singly encountered and slain a lion, a tiger, a leopard, an elephant, a rhinoceros, or an elk, are regarded as heroes. A person who has achieved this, on his return home, squats down; and is soon visited by one of the sages of the kraal, to thank and congratulate him on so beneficial an exploit; and to acquaint him, that the men of the kraal expect him immediately to receive from their hands the honours which are his due.

The hero rising, attends the messenger to the middle of the kraal, where all the men wait for him; and squatting down on a mat spread for him, all the men encircle him, while the hero's face is flushed with joy. The deputy then marches up to the new hero, and compliments him with a natural stream, accompanied with some mysterious words. The person thus honoured, as on other occasions, rubs in the fluid with the greatest eagerness.

This done, the deputy lights his pipe, and having taken two or three whiffs, hands it round till it is smoked quite out. He then takes the remaining ashes, and shakes them upon the hero, who rubs them into the encrusting fat, careful not to lose a single particle of them. The meeting then rises up, and every one congratulates
him

him on the signal honour he has received, and thanks him for the service he has done his country. The hero now considers himself as exalted to the highest summit of human glory; and by the bladder of the beast he has killed and fastened to his hair, and the majestic port he ever after assumes, demands the homage and respect which the institutions of his countrymen annex to this dignity.

The destruction of no wild beast diffuses so much joy over a kraal as that of the tiger. The Hottentots have an amazing predilection for the flesh; which, indeed, I found to be most delicious food, and far superior to veal.

The last ceremonies attending a private person, are those which have a reference to his exit and sepulture. A Hottentot man or woman, in the agonies of death, is surrounded by the friends and relations, who set up a terrible howl. The breath, however, is no sooner out of the body than they join in so horrid a chorus of screams, yells, roaring, and clapping of hands, that it is impossible almost for a European to stay within hearing.

The corpse is instantly wrapped up, neck and heels together, in the kross, so closely, that not the least part of it remains uncovered. About six hours after death, the funeral obsequies take place. When the corpse is ready to be brought out, all the men and women of the village, except such as are immediately engaged in the melancholy rites, assemble before the door of the hut; and squatting in two circles, the men in one and the women in another, they clap their hands, exclaiming, in doleful accents, "Bo! bo! bo! or Father! father! father!"

The covering being removed, the corpse is brought out from the back part of the hut, for it must not be taken out at the door. The bearers are nominated by the captain of the kraal, or by the relations of the deceased, who is carried in their arms. When brought out, the circles, before the door, rise and attend the corpse to the grave, the men and women, in separate bodies, all the way wringing their hands, and shouting Bo! bo! bo! and putting themselves into such ridiculous attitudes, that it is difficult for an European to be present, and preserve his gravity.

Having put the corpse into the hole, generally the cleft of a rock, or the retreat of some wild beast, they fill up the place with the mould of ant-hills, that it may be the sooner consumed; and cram stones and pieces of wood in with it, to prevent the body being devoured by wild beasts.

This performed, they return to the kraal, and again forming two circles, renew their lamentations for about the space of an hour, till the word being given for silence, two old men, the friends or relations of the deceased, enter each circle, and sparingly dispense their water among them, that every person may have some, which is, as usual, rubbed in with eagerness and veneration.

After this ceremony, which constitutes a part of all their solemnities, each steps into the hut, and, taking up a handful of ashes from the hearth, comes out by the passage formed for the corpse, and strews the ashes, by little and little, over the company. This, they say, is done to humble their pride; to banish all notions of distinction; and to shew them, that old and young,
rich

rich and poor, the weak and strong, the beautiful and the ordinary, will all be alike, and reduced to dust and ashes.

If the deceased has any cattle, the heir now kills a sheep, and some of his nearest relations, if they can afford it, do the same, for the entertainment of the kraal. The caul of the sheep, killed by the heir, is well powdered with buchu, and put about his neck; which appendage he is obliged to wear till it rots off. Some one of the other relations wear likewise the caul of the sheep they kill, in the same manner. These cauls are the badges of mourning, which the rich Hottentots put on for the dead. But if the relations of the deceased are poor, and cannot afford to kill any cattle for the entertainment of their society, they shave their heads in narrow slips, alternately leaving a strip of hair, which likewise denotes mourning.

One horrid custom remains to be particularized. When persons of either sex become superannuated, or, in short, unable to perform the least office for themselves, they are then, by the consent of the kraal, placed in a solitary hut, at a considerable distance, with a small stock of provisions within their reach; where they are left to die of hunger, or to be devoured by the wild beasts. Cruel as this custom is, they consider it as an act of mercy; and are filled with astonishment, when they hear it reprobated by Europeans. It must, however, be confessed, that they never practise this dreadful desertion of the aged, till life is absolutely a burden. While the old are capable of any act of humanity, they are treated with the tenderest attention, and care is taken to relieve the burden of their years.

The Hottentots have also some ceremonies of a general concern: upon the overthrow of an enemy; on any considerable slaughter of wild beasts; on the removal of a kraal, when the pasture about it becomes too scanty for the support of their cattle; when an inhabitant dies in it, whether a natural or accidental death; or to propitiate the deity, when any distemper affects their sheep.

When they design a public entertainment, they erect a sort of booth in the centre of the kraal, sufficient to entertain all the men commodiously, the materials wholly new, as an emblem of their intention of commencing a new life. On the morning of the day appointed for the celebration of the solemnity, the women and children of the kraal collect the most beautiful and odoriferous herbs, flowers, and boughs, with which they adorn the booth or arbour. The men then kill the fattest bullock, part of which is boiled and part roasted. This the males feast on in the booth, while the women are obliged to be satisfied with the broth.

After the repast, they commence smoking and dancing, while a band of music, composed of a kind of flutes formed of reeds, and a sort of drum, strikes up at intervals. Some sing, others joke, and mirth triumphs in peals of laughter. But though they are immoderately fond of strong liquor, little or any is seen in these solemnities, which are generally prolonged to a late hour of the night.

When they resolve to remove a kraal, on account of a deficiency of pasture, they kill a fat sheep, on which the men feast, while the women have the usual regale of broth. The banquet is conducted

conducted with much mirth and good humour, and is considered as a thank-offering for the bounties of nature enjoyed in that place.

This finished, they demolish their cots, pack up their furniture, and remove at once, the men in one body, and the women in another, to the place marked out for a new settlement; where being arrived, in a very short space of time they erect a new kraal, and dispose of their furniture. A sheep is then killed by the women, and dressed as before; but they now enjoy the flesh themselves, and send the broth to the men. Having anointed their kroffes with the fat, and powdered their hair with buchu, they begin the several diversions among themselves, and continue them till the night is far spent. The sheep is here considered as a sacrifice; and the unctions and powderings as religious formalities for the prosperity of the kraal, and the continuance of plenty in the station they have chosen.

Their huts are all oval, the longest diameter being about fourteen feet: they are formed of sticks, one end of which is fixed in the ground, the other bent over the top so as to make an arch; but they are seldom so high that a man can stand upright within them. The arches being fixed by tying bent sticks with a kind of rope formed of rushes, the whole is covered with mats; which are so closely united to each other and to the sticks, as not to admit the rain, or to be affected by the wind.

The cots of the wealthy Hottentots have also a covering of skins. They have no other aperture but at the entrance, which is also arched, and about three feet high; and on its top is fixed a skin, to be lifted up or let down at pleasure, in order to keep out the wind, or admit light. This
is

is the only passage for the smoke. Their furniture consists of earthen pots for dressing their victuals, and several other vessels for water, milk, and butter. The fire-place is a hole made in the middle of the hut; and their bed a skin spread in a small cavity made in the ground for this purpose.

A kraal consists of twenty or more of these huts, placed near each other in a circle, leaving an area in the middle: each kraal containing from three to four hundred persons. The habitations of the opulent are often hung with beautiful skins and a variety of trinkets; but though the most splendid of them are narrow, dark, and filthy, harmony almost universally prevails in them, that heavenly charm, so rarely to be found in the most magnificent palaces of Europe!

When a difference happens between a man and his wife, it is soon accommodated: all the neighbours instantly interpose, and the quarrel is at an end. The Hottentots indeed run to the suppression of strife, when it has invaded a family, the same as we do to extinguish a fire; and allow themselves no repose till every matter in dispute is adjusted.

The last public ceremony we shall mention, is the propitiatory offerings for a disease among their sheep, which last three days. On each of these solemnities, the old men assemble by themselves and feast on the fat sheep; while the young men, at a distance, eat the entrails; and the women and children are regaled with the broth of the part that is boiled. The feast being over, they spend the remainder of each day in singing and dancing.

The cattle belonging to the same kraal graze in common; and the meanest inhabitant, who has but a single sheep, has the privilege of turning it
into

into the flock, where it meets with the same care, as if it belonged to the richest and most powerful person of the kraal. They have no particular herdsmen or shepherds for driving their cattle to the pasture, and guarding them from wild beasts. This office is borne by turns, three or four of them in company: the women milking the cows morning and evening.

Between five and six in the evening, they generally drive their cattle home. In the area of the kraal they lodge the calves and all the small cattle; and on the outside range the great cattle, tying two and two together by the feet. These in the night are guarded by dogs, of which every kraal has one or two.

The Hottentots have a kind of fighting oxen, which they call backeleyers, used in their wars, as elephants are in some other nations. These gore, kick, and trample the enemy to death with incredible fury. Of these, each army has a drove, which they mutually turn on each other. The courage of these creatures is astonishing; and the discipline on which they are formed reflects no small honour on the Hottentot genius and dexterity.

These animals are also of great service to them in the government of the herds at pasture; for, upon a signal given, they will fetch in the stragglers. Every kraal has at least half a dozen of these oxen; and when one of them dies or grows too old for service, the most stately young ox is selected from the herd, and taught to succeed him.

The backeleyers know every inhabitant of the kraal: but if a stranger, especially an European, approaches the herd, without being accompanied by

by a Hottentot of the kraal to which they belong, they make at him full gallop; and if he is not within hearing of some of the herdsmen, or can climb up a tree, or act on the defensive by fire arms, his destruction is inevitable. But they no sooner hear the whistling of the keepers through their fingers, or the report of a pistol, than they return to the herds in peace.

The Hottentots have likewise great numbers of draught oxen, which are broken with so much art and rendered so obedient to their drivers, that the docility of an European dog is not greater.

These people are expert in several arts: they make mats and ropes of great strength from flags and bullrushes; and fabricate earthen pots of the mould of anthills, in which the bruised ant eggs form a very strong cement. They fashion the vessel on a smooth, flat stone, by hand, as a pastry cook does a pye; permit it to dry in the sun; and then burn it in a hole made in the earth, over which a quick fire is raised. These pots are as black as jet, and of a surprising firmness.

They point their weapons with iron, which they even extract from the ore; and with no other implements but stones, beat it out, and manufacture it into weapons; after which they grind and polish it so nicely on a flat stone, as to render it valuable both for use and beauty. This ingenuity, however, is not incompatible with their habitual laziness: for a poor Hottentot, having made a set of arms for his own use, and perhaps another for sale, by which he has acquired two or three head of cattle, can hardly ever be induced to set his hand to the same labour a third time.

Their arrows consist of a small tapering stick or cane, of about a foot and a half in length, pointed with a small thin piece of iron bearded and joined to the stick or cane by a barrel. Their bows are made of olive or iron-wood; and the strings, of the sinews or entrails of beasts, fastened to a strong wooden or iron hook at each extremity of the bow. The quiver is a long narrow bag, formed of the skin of an ox, elk, or elephant, and slung over the shoulder by an appended strap; but to the upper end of the quiver is fixed a hook, on which the bow is hung, when they proceed to war or to the chase.

They have another offensive weapon, called the hassagaye, which is a kind of half pike. The shaft is a long taper stick, armed at the thickest end with a thin iron plate. It tapers to a point, and is very sharp on the edges. The rackumstick is a sort of dart, little more than a foot long, made of some hard wood.

In the use of these weapons, the Hottentots shew such quickness of eye and certainty of aim, as perhaps no other people possess. They do not halt, like the Europeans to take their aim, but skip from side to side, and brandish and whirl the weapon about in such a manner, that the whole might be regarded as an idle flourish; but on a sudden, it reaches the mark. Their dexterity on these occasions almost exceeds credibility.

No people are more courageous or expert hunters; and on taking and killing the most ferocious animals, they display great art and agility. They are likewise very dexterous swimmers; and this exercise they perform in a manner different from other nations; for they beat the water with their feet, and raising themselves erect, paddle along

along with their necks and arms above the surface. In this posture they cross deep rivers; and proceed with great velocity in the sea, without shewing the least apprehension of danger, in the manner which European swimmers call treading the waters; rising and falling with the waves, like so many corks. In fishing, their address and activity are likewise most extraordinary.

But the chief pride of a Hottentot is displayed in hunting and killing wild beasts. When all the men of a kraal are out upon the chase, and discover a wild beast of any magnitude, they endeavour to surround him, which they generally do in a short time, though the beast may endeavour to fly. If they encompass an elephant or a rhinoceros, they attack him with hassagayes, the hardness and thickness of his hide securing him against the effects of a shower of arrows. Should they fail to lay him dead on the spot, and he is able to return the attack, they form as wide a ring as they can, to reach him with their hassagayes. The creature being wounded, runs with great fury and bellowing against the persons from whom the weapons seemed to proceed; he is attacked in the rear by others: he wheels round to revenge himself on the last assailants; and again his enemies take the advantage. The hassagayes multiply on his body: he roars, tears up the ground; and is sometimes covered with a forest of missile weapons before he falls.

When a lion, tiger, or leopard is thus inclosed, they attack him both with hassagayes and arrows. With eyes darting fire and the wildest rage, he flies on the assailants. Nimble as he is, they are still more so; and avoid him with astonishing dexterity, till they are relieved by some of
their

their associates. He takes so quick a bound, that a spectator trembles for the fate of the person he aims at; yet the Hottentot eludes his force in the twinkling of an eye; and the savage spends his fury on the ground. He turns and leaps towards another, and another, and another; but still in vain: they avoid him, quick as thought; and still he fights only with the air.

All this time the hassagayes and arrows are pouring upon him in the rear: he becomes infuriate with pain; and running and bounding from one assailant to another, and tumbling from time to time, to break the arrows and hassagayes that are fastened in him, he foams, yells, and roars in the most hideous style.

Nothing can be more admirable than the activity and address with which the Hottentots escape the paws of these savage beasts, and the incredible speed and resolution with which they relieve each other. If the beast is not quickly dispatched, he is soon convinced, that it is impossible to oppose such a nimble foe; and in consequence tries to escape; but his back being by this time covered with arrows and hassagayes, some of which are usually poisoned, he falls and bites the ground.

The Hottentots, however, do not often engage an elephant, a rhinoceros, or an elk after this manner: the elephants going always to water in troops in a line, form a path from their haunts to the drinking place. In this track, the Hottentots without spade or ax, for they have neither, make a hole from six to eight feet deep, in the middle of which they fix a strong stake, tapering up to a point, nearly of the height of the pit. This being done, they cover the hole with small boughs,

leaves, mould, and grass; so that there is no appearance remains of a trap.

The elephants, keeping pretty close to the track, the first of them is sure to fall in with his forefeet, when his neck or breast being pierced by the stake on which the whole body rests, the more he struggles, the farther it penetrates. The rest of the elephants, seeing the disaster of their companion, make off immediately. Meanwhile the Hottentots seeing the success of their ambuscade, issue out of their covert, get upon the neck of the beast, and either fracture his skull with heavy stones, or open the large veins with their knives. The carcase is then cut in pieces and carried to the kraal, where all the inhabitants make a jovial feast.

It has already been observed, that the wealth of the Hottentots consists in their cattle; and it is never seen in any other article, except in elephant's teeth, of which they procure a considerable number, though they bring but few of them to the Cape. The Dutch imagine they dispose the greater part of them to the inhabitants of Terra du Natal, or to the Portuguese at Mosambique.

These uncorrupted people have no such thing as circulating specie among them: their traffic with each other, as well as with strangers, is always in the way of barter. A few of them occasionally get the eggs of ostriches and the skins of wild beasts, which they exchange with the Europeans for wine, brandy, tobacco, pipes, coral, beads, small mirrors, knives, and brass trinkets. Generally speaking, however, cattle is their medium of exchange, both with the Europeans and with each other; and these they part with at a rate incredibly low. A pound of tobacco fetched

an ox, half a pound a large sheep, and a quarter of a pound a fat lamb, whenever I wished to bargain with them. A dram, however, served to expedite the agreement.

The wild beasts of this country are remarkably fierce and savage. The lions are possessed of surprising strength. When they fall upon their prey, they knock it down first; never biting it till they have given it the mortal blow, which is always attended with a dreadful roar.

When the lion is pinched with hunger, he shakes his mane, and lashes his sides with his tail. During this agitation, it is almost certain death to come in his way; and as he generally lurks for his prey behind the bushes, travellers sometimes do not discover the motion of his tail till it is too late: but if a lion neither shakes his mane nor lashes himself with his tail, a traveller may pass in safety. The flesh of a lion is by some reputed to resemble venison.

The tiger and leopard are next in fierceness to the lion. The tiger, however, is much the largest, and is distinguished by rings of black hair inclosing spots of yellow; but the black streaks of the leopard are not round, but are formed with an opening resembling a horse shoe. Neither of these animals will eat the flesh of any creature they have not killed themselves.

One Bowman, a burgher at the Cape, walking alone in the fields, was surprised by a tiger which leaped at his throat; but though terribly frightened, he had the presence of mind to seize him by the head, and struggling, threw him to the ground, and fell upon him. He then contrived to hold the savage down with one hand and the weight of his body, while with the other hand,

he drew a knife from his pocket, and cut the tiger's throat. In this unequal conflict, Mr. Bowman received a number of wounds, and lost much blood; and it is perhaps the only instance of a man, by dint of force, being able to cope with this formidable animal.

The Cape elephants are much larger than those of any other country; and their teeth weigh from sixty to one hundred and twenty pounds. The female is considerably less than the male; and her dugs are placed between her forelegs. I am certain those authors are mistaken, who say that they sleep standing; for I have frequently seen deep impressions of their bodies on the ground where they have lain. Their common food is grass, heath, roots, and the tender boughs of trees. They have no hair, and their skins are covered with a multitude of scars and scratches, which they receive by forcing their way through thorns and bushes.

The Cape rhinoceros is of a dark ash colour, inclining to black. The skin is destitute of hair; but is so hard that it is difficult to pierce it with a sharp knife. This animal is generally represented as armed all over with scales: but those at the Cape have really none, though the infinite number of scars and scratches on his sides, at a distance, have the appearance of scales. His mouth resembles that of a large hog; and upon the snout grows a solid, dark-grey horn, near two feet long, somewhat bent; with which, when in a rage, he will tear up the ground. On his forehead is another horn, about six inches long, hollow, and in the form of a half-inverted bowl. His ears are small, and his legs short in proportion to the size. With the elephant it is at perpetual

petual variance; and whenever he surprises him, he rips open his belly with the formidable horn on his snout.

He easily catches the scent of any creature to the windward, and marches directly towards it, grunting, and tearing his way through every opposing obstacle. He never attacks a man, unprovoked, unless he is dressed in scarlet; in which case he rends and destroys every thing that stands between him and the object of his wrath. If he seizes him, he throws him over his head with great violence; and then feeds upon him, by licking the flesh off the bones with his rough and prickly tongue.

His eyes are very small, and he only sees straight forwards; but though he is pretty swift of foot, he is very slow and awkward in turning. It is therefore easy to avoid him, by suddenly leaving his track, when he comes within a few yards. This animal feeds chiefly on shrubs, broom, and thistles. The buffaloes of the Cape are of great magnitude, and of a reddish brown colour. Their horns are short; and their skin is so hard and tough, that it requires very good fire-arms to penetrate them. The sight of any thing red enrages this animal likewise, or if a gun is discharged near them. On these occasions, they roar, stamp, tear up the ground, and furiously run at the offending party.

The Cape elks are generally five feet high. Their heads are small; their horns about a foot long, and twisted; but the ends are straight, smooth, and pointed. The neck is slender and well-turned; and the hair on the body smooth, soft, and ash-coloured. The legs are long and slender, and the tail about a foot in length.

They climb the most abrupt precipices with surprising speed and security.

The zebra, or wild ass of this country, is a most beautiful creature. It is of the size of an ordinary saddle-horse; and resembles an ass in nothing so much as the length of its ears. The legs of this animal are slender and well-proportioned: and the hair is soft and sleek. Along the ridge of the back, a black streak extends from the mane to the tail; and on each side are many lines of various colours, which meet under the belly in so many circles. The head, ears, mane, and tail, are also streaked with the same beautiful variety of colours, which lose themselves in each other in a most elegant manner. The zebra is so fleet, that there is probably no horse in the world could keep pace with him.

The goats are of various species. Besides those resembling the European breed, there are some of a fine blue colour, about the size of a hart. Their horns are curiously annulated, till near the extremities. The flesh is well flavoured, but seldom fat.

The spotted goats are extremely numerous: above one thousand may be seen in a herd. These are very beautiful creatures, about the same size as the preceding. Their horns incline backwards, and run up spirally to the middle, and from thence to the end are straight and smooth. Their flesh has the taste of venison.

There is another species, with a beautiful head, adorned with smooth, bending, pointed horns, three feet long, extending towards the back. From the forehead to the tail runs a white streak, which is crossed at the shoulders by another. A white streak also crosses the
middle

middle of the back, and extends down both sides to the belly. A third crosses it above the buttocks, and runs down them. The hair on other parts of the body is greyish, with little touches of red, except that the belly inclines to white.

The earth-hogs of this country are not unlike the European swine, only they are somewhat red: their heads too are longer, their snouts more pointed, and they are destitute of teeth. The tongue is very long and sharp. When hungry, it looks out for an ant-hill, and stretching its tongue to a great length, suffers the ants to cover it, when it draws this member in, and swallows them in great numbers; and then extends the same lure for more. It scratches holes in the ground, in which it hides itself; and in this labour shews great expedition. If it can only fasten its head and forelegs in the earth, it sticks so close, that the strongest man cannot pull it out. The flesh tastes somewhat like that of the wild hog.

The Cape porcupines are about two feet high, and three long. The head and feet resemble those of a hare, and the ears those of the human race. The flesh is wholesome and well-tasted.

This animal is very mischievous in the gardens; and therefore, when the breach is discovered, by which it entered, a musket is planted against it, charged and cocked. To the trigger is tied a string, which runs close along by the barrel to the muzzle, to which some esculent root is fixed. The porcupine, on seizing this bait, pulls the trigger, and generally loses its life.

The baboons are very numerous; and being very fond of fruit, frequently enter the gardens
and

and orchards in quest of it. On taking possession, they station a party to watch; and then a number of them begin to strip the trees, while the rest extend in a line, at intervals, from the place where they are committing their depredations, to their usual retreats. The fruit, as it is gathered, is tossed to the baboon at the head of the line, and immediately passes from hand to hand up to the mountains. Being so nimble and quick sighted, they seldom fail to catch what is thrown to them.

All this is effected with great silence and dispatch; and when the party on guard discover any person approaching, they give a loud cry, on which the whole troop scours off, as if destruction was at their heels, the young ones jumping upon the backs of their dams.

It is supposed they punish neglect in the sentinels with death, for when any are taken or shot, before the alarm is given, a quarrelling noise is heard among them, on regaining their retreats; and it is not unusual to find the bodies of some of them torn to pieces in the way.

The stink bingsen, however, is one of the most extraordinary animals at the Cape. It is also called the stink-box: its fetid smell being its only defence against its enemies. It is shaped like a ferret, and is about the size of a middling dog.

When its pursuers, whether man or beast, gets pretty near, it emits such a horrid stench from the anus, that no animal can endure it. A man is almost suffocated by it, before he can get away; and a dog, or other animal, is so strangely overcome by it, that he is obliged to stop every minute to rub his nose in the grass, or against a tree.

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The stink-box, having thus stopped its pursuer, gets a great way ahead, before the chase can be renewed; and if he comes up with this animal a second time, the same fumes are let loose, by which it again escapes. Thus he proceeds till the enemy is fairly stunk out of the field.

This animal is sometimes shot by the Europeans, but it is obliged to be left till it rots. No sooner is it dead, than the whole body contracts such a nauseous smell, that a single touch with the finger retains a stench, neither easy to endure nor removeable by any kind of ablution for a time.

There are also many other quadrupeds at the Cape, some of which are common in Europe; and the rest, which are to be found in other warm climates, have frequently been described by travellers and naturalists.

Many of the European birds are found here, and a multitude which are not. The flamingos of the Cape are larger than a swan, their necks are very long; the bill is incurvated, and furnished with short, sharp teeth. The head and neck are white; the lower parts of the wings are black; but the upper parts are of a bright flame colour. The legs are uncommonly long, and orange coloured; and the feet resemble those of a goose. The flesh is well flavoured; and the tongue, which is large, is esteemed a peculiar delicacy.

Ostriches are so numerous, that a person can scarcely walk a quarter of an hour in the country, without seeing some of them. The plumage of some are black, of others white. The head is very small in proportion to the body, which is the largest among the feathered race; the neck is long;

long;
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21 18
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long; the legs are thick and strong; and the feet, which are cloven, resemble those of a goat.

The weight of the ostrich's body prevents her from flying; but, when she apprehends danger, she runs, and, expanding her wings, catches the wind, which gives her a velocity equal to that of a man on horseback. If she finds she cannot escape her pursuer, she hides her head, and stands stock still, submissive to any fate.

Ostriches will swallow pebbles or pieces of iron, which they afterwards void almost unchanged. They are easily tamed; and their eggs are so large, that one of them will furnish a pretty good meal to three or four persons*. The Cape ostriches do not leave their eggs to be hatched by the sun; for the male and female alternately perform the office of incubation: they indeed deposit them in the sand; but if any person so much as touches them, the ostrich will immediately forsake them. The young ones are incapable of walking till some time after they have left the shell; and are therefore attended by the old ones, till they are in a condition to provide for themselves.

The edolio perfectly agrees with the European cuckoo, and chiefly resorts to high trees and thickets. In fine weather, it distinctly repeats the syllables of which its name is composed, in a low, melancholy tone, which is its only note.

Among the reptiles at the Cape are several species of serpents, of which the tree serpent seems one of the most remarkable. It is about

* The writer of this has a shell of an ostrich egg, formed into a drinking cup, which holds about three pints, wine measure, and originally must have been capacious enough to contain two quarts at least.

two yards long, and three quarters of an inch thick. This creature winds itself about the branches of a tree in such a manner, as to be with difficulty distinguished from them: all the difference, in point of colour, being some speckles; and while persons are gazing at the tree, it sometimes darts its head in their faces, and wounds them.

The dipsas, or thirst-serpent, receives its name from the burning thirst occasioned by its bite. It is frequently to be met with in the Cape countries, and is about three quarters of a yard long.

The asp is ash coloured, speckled with red and white. The head and neck are very broad; the eyes are flat, and sunk in the head, and near each of them rises a fleshy protuberance. They are of various sizes: some several yards long.

The hair-serpent is about a yard long, and three quarters of an inch thick. It is the most dangerous of all the serpents of this country: its bite being almost instant death, unless a remedy be at hand.

Scorpions are very numerous, and harbour mostly among the stones, on which account great caution is used in moving them with hands, lest a sting should be the consequence.

The amphibious animals are the sea-cow, and the turtle, which are esteemed great dainties.

The seas are very prolific in fish; yielding whales, porpoises, pilot-fish, sharks, flying-fish, and many other genera.

There are several species of sea-snails; among which the pearl-snails are most worthy of notice. It affords no small entertainment to observe them on the surface of the water in calm weather, when their shells serve them for boats. They erect their heads considerably above their natural vehicles,

vehicles, and spreading out a kind of sail with which nature has supplied them, move along in a very curious manner. If, in sailing, they find themselves in danger, they withdraw themselves into their covering; and sink into the deep. Many of these shells will contain a quart of fluid, and are sometimes used as drinking cups at the Cape, after being set in metal, and curiously embellished on the outside*.

Thus having mentioned the most material circumstances relative to the Hottentot nations, and the Dutch settlement at the Cape, I shall only add, that on the 9th of April 1713, I embarked on board the company's ship, the Stadthouse, for Holland; and after an agreeable voyage, in which nothing remarkable happened, arrived, on the 22d of May, at Amsterdam, from whence I hastened to revisit my native country.

On Kolbens voyage we shall make no additional remarks; but we cannot help feeling an interest, in which we trust our readers will participate, in every thing that relates to the Cape and its aboriginal inhabitants. Without derogating from the value and importance of other colonies, we consider this as the most splendid appendage of Britain; as the most valuable indemnity we can acquire or preserve for a war, into which we were provoked by wanton aggression, and the dissemination of pestilential principles, now abandoned with contempt by the nation that broached them.

* To these animals, the poet probably alludes.

Learn of the little *nautilus* to sail,

Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale. POPE.

VOYAGE OF
CAPTAINS CLIPPERTON
AND
SHELVOCK,
ROUND THE GLOBE.

THOUGH the voyage of Captain Woods Rogers was not crowned with all the expected success, yet its advantages were still sufficient to revive the spirit of privateering, and to give rise to the present expedition. A war subsisting between the emperor and Spain, application was made by some English adventurers to the Imperial Court for a commission to cruise against the Spaniards, who were not at that time engaged in actual hostilities with Britain.

Captain George Shelvock was originally pitched on to command the vessels concerned in this meditated enterprise. He had been thirty years in the royal navy, in which he had arrived at the rank of first lieutenant. He possessed affability and address, and was not insensible to his own merits and qualifications. Had he been finally intrusted with the command, it is probable, the voyage might have proved a fortunate one; but several concurring circumstances intervened to

alter the disposition of it; and in consequence the main design of those concerned in it was frustrated.

The captain, having received orders to repair to Ostend with the *Speedwell*, proceeded for that port to take on board the proper complement of Flemings, in order to give a colour to the commission. He was then to join the *Success*, which lay in the Downs, under the command of Captain Mitchell. The foreign names of the ships were to be the *Prince Eugene* and the *Starenberg*.

Shelvock had orders to lay in such a quantity of spirituous liquors as might be sufficient for both ships. In executing this commission, however, he seems not to have met with the entire approbation of his owners; and when the Flemish foldiers at last arrived, their insolence was so intolerable, that it was judged proper to return the Imperial commission, and to proceed without them.

Meanwhile a war breaking out between Spain and this country, the owners were freed from one difficulty; but they plunged themselves into a worse dilemma, by superseding Shelvock, and appointing Captain Clipperton to the principal command. This man was a rough, blunt sailor, and had some acquaintance with the western coasts of America, his grand recommendation. Shelvock, however, was continued in the command of the *Speedwell*, and Mr. Hatley appointed his second; while Captain Mitchell acted in the same capacity under Clipperton.

Thus the basis of dissention was laid by the half measures which the owners pursued: they ought to have made an entire change of officers, or none. Unanimity, indeed, was strongly recommended in the instructions they received, but
this

this was not to be expected: dissensions arose between the two captains before they left England.

The vessels, however, after various delays, set sail from Plymouth, on the 13th of February 1719. The *Succeſs*, Clipperton's ship, carried thirty-six guns, and one hundred and eighty men; and the *Speedwell*, commanded by Shelvock, twenty-four guns and one hundred and six men. The latter of these ships had on board the whole stock of liquors, while the other had almost all the other stores necessary for the voyage.

On the 19th a storm arose; and next day a signal was made for the *Speedwell* to bring to, which was obeyed, and the vessels lay under their bare poles. But the storm abating, the ships unaccountably separated, and steered in different directions; the cause of which was retorted from the one commander to the other.

Without liquors and without his consort, Clipperton, in this situation, resolved to steer for the Canaries, the place of rendezvous agreed on; and having taken in wine at Gomera, and cruised ten days near the islands, he departed for those of Cape Verd, and anchored at St. Vincent.

Round these islands, Captain Clipperton continued cruising about ten days more; but seeing no probability of rejoining his consort, he again set sail, though his men already began to be mutinous for want of their supply of spirituous liquors.

It was the first of April when they left St. Vincent, and on the 29th of May they found themselves off Cape Virgin, near the mouth of the Magellanic Straights, which they entered next day, and sent the pinnace ashore to get fresh water from a river then frozen up. The surgeon's

mate having been left on shore at night, was almost frozen to death.

Anchoring at Queen Elizabeth's Island, they found plenty of smallage, by the use of which the men afflicted with the scurvy were greatly relieved. They also found plenty of wild fowl and fish, and having filled their casks with water, they held on their course.

Afterwards they came into a fine bay, which they denominated No Bottom, from the depth of the water. The trees on shore were high and loaded with snow. While they lay here, a canoe came off with four Indians, almost naked. They appeared to be very jealous of their females, nor could they be prevailed on to suffer a woman, one of their party, to come on board. The captain entertained them courteously; and after a stay of two hours, they departed.

Next day, the pinnace being sent on shore, returned with the Indian canoe in the evening, laden with muscles, which the natives had given them in exchange for knives and toys. They appeared to Clipperton's men to be a harmless people; and one of the crew, who lived among them two nights and a day, met with very kind treatment.

The ship's company now began to grow sickly, and one or other of them generally died every day. On the 8th of July, they buried their master gunner, and erected a memorial to his name.

Captain Mitchell and the lieutenant having gone in the pinnace to Terra del Fuego, to attempt the discovery of a passage, which a French tartan was said to have sailed through a few years before, returned in a short time with an account, that such a communication actually existed;

isted; but that it was too narrow to be safe for a ship of any burden.

Proceeding on their voyage, they experienced the usual dangers and difficulties in the straits. However, they entered the South Sea, on the 18th of August, and steered directly for Juan Fernandez to refresh. Here they searched in vain for the Speedwell, or any traces of her having been there.

In this vicinity, they cruised for about a month, when Captain Clipperton, preparing for his departure, caused an inscription to be cut on a tree fronting the landing place, at Juan Fernandez, which, in case of Shelvock's touching there, might inform him of his consort's arrival, without betraying the secret to the Spaniards, should they land at this island.

All means had been used to recover the sick; but a dejection of spirits prevailed from the known want of their customary supplies. The weather was variable, and much rain fell during their cruise near the island. They took abundance of goats, which they used fresh and salted; and having wooded and watered, Clipperton now gave up the Speedwell for lost; and saw that he should be obliged to proceed on his cruise alone.

On the eve of the ship's departure, four of the crew betook themselves to the mountains, intending to remain on the island; but two of them were brought back by force.

On the 7th of September, they weighed anchor and sailed northward, till they got into the parallel of Lima, where they intended to act; though they had already lost thirty men, and some disorders and dissensions prevailed among the remaining crew. On the 25th of October, they

took a small vessel, which proved to be a snow of forty tons, laden with manure, having on board seven Indians and two negroes. In this bark, they found little of any value.

Next day they fell in with a ship called the St. Vincent, of one hundred and fifty tons, laden with wood from Guiaquil. She had two friars and many Indians on board. Soon after they took the Trinity of four hundred tons, which had previously fallen into the hands of Captain Rogers, when he plundered Guiaquil. She had a valuable cargo, and many passengers on board.

On the 4th of November, they fell in with a fourth prize of seventy tons, with the Countess of Laguna, and some other passengers of note on board. They likewise found much money, and two jars of wine and brandy. The captain indulged the countess with her choice of removing on board the Success, or remaining where she was. This lady preferred the latter, and orders were given, that none but her own domestics should enter her cabin.

Clipperton's crew was now much weakened by detachments he had made to secure his prizes; yet still he was intent on taking more. He soon fell in with a pink of two hundred tons, which struck to him; when a lieutenant and eight men were sent to take possession of her. This officer ordered all the men he saw on board into the great cabin, and posted a sentinel at the door. Thinking all secure, he went down with some of his men, into the ship's hold, to examine the lading; when a concealed party fell upon the captors, and knocked them down and bound them. The sentinel was also overpowered; and the stratagem of the Spanish captain succeeding

to the utmost of his expectations, he again recovered the command of his ship.

Pressing, however, too precipitately on the shore, he ran his own vessel on the rocks, where she was lost. When the danger appeared inevitable, the English were unbound, and every person was at liberty to provide for his safety. They all got safe on shore; and the English being again secured, were sent to the Viceroy of Lima.

Clipperton, seeing that he had lost both his prize and his men, determined to release his Spanish prisoners; both to save provisions, and to secure better treatment for his own party.

In his course to La Plata, he took another prize of two hundred tons, with thirty Spaniards and forty negroes. By this vessel Clipperton was apprized, that the whole coast was alarmed, and that two men of war were fitting out against him. The goods he had captured were, in general, of little value in Europe, and he saw no great probability of their being ransomed. It therefore occurred to him to dispatch Captain Mitchell in one of the prizes, mounting eight guns, and an adequate complement of men, to Brasil, with a cargo valued at ten thousand pounds. On this coast, it was supposed, a ready vent would be found for the commodities consigned to the care of that officer. After this, he stripped the other prizes of such articles as he wished, and then presented them to the Spanish prisoners.

Thus disencumbered, Clipperton prepared to cruise in his former station. As they were holding on their course, they took a bark called the Rosary, which they plundered and dismissed. Looking into Guanaco Bay, they saw two ships at anchor there, and fired a shot at each, to which

no return was made. On this they boarded them, and found them deserted, and stripped of every thing valuable.

The English now hung out a flag of truce, and wished to enter into a negotiation for ransoming their prizes; but no person appearing from the shore to treat, they set fire to both vessels, and then sailed for the Gallipagos Islands, till the alarm excited on the coast should subside.

Arriving safe at the Duke of York's Island, under the equinoctial line, they cleared their ships, and found water; in which latter circumstance, it is observable, Captain Rogers was disappointed.

On the 21st of January 1720, they took a vessel called the Prince Eugene, bound for Lima, on board of which was the Marquis de Ville Roche. A priest, who was also among the passengers, having obtained leave to go on shore, to induce the natives to traffic with the English for cattle, returned in a few days with a herd of black cattle and some fowls; which the governor had sent as a present to the marquis, but would not consent to any trade.

Some intercepted letters, however, shewed that treachery was carrying on, and that the marquis was implicated in this dishonourable charge. Accordingly he was put under confinement for some time; but at last suffered to go on shore with his lady, their only child remaining as an hostage for their return.

After some stay, these prisoners of quality came on board, accompanied by the governor; when Clipperton having agreed about their ransom, the lady and child were liberated, but the marquis

marquis remained as an hostage for the performance of articles, which were never fulfilled.

Touching at Amapalla and the Isle of Tigers, they afterwards came to Gorgona, to water. On the 24th of June, they took the *St. Vincent* the second time, now commanded by Don Clement de Andrada, and laden with timber and coconuts.

On the 9th of August, they anchored at Lobos de Mar with their prize, and careened, having erected tents on shore. Here the crew began to express their disapprobation of the captain's conduct, in almost every particular; and a plot was formed for seizing Clipperton, and running away with the ship. The design, however, being timely discovered, some of the mutineers were severely punished, and the rest pardoned on promise of future amendment.

Soon after, they took another small prize, on board of which they put some Spanish prisoners, and dismissed her; but they had the misfortune to lose the *St. Vincent* in a storm, which drove her on shore.

In their course to Coquimbo, they took a ship laden with cloth, sugar, and tobacco; but they no sooner arrived in view of that harbour, than they were descried by three men of war, which immediately cut their cables and made after them. The *Succes* and her prize instantly hauled the wind and bore away. The former escaped by dint of sailing, but the latter was captured, with Mr. Milne, the third lieutenant and twelve men.

Don Blas de Lesso, governor of Carthagená, when attacked by Admiral Vernon, was the captain who took the prize, which he flattered himself was the *Succes*. When he found his mistake,

take, he was so enraged, that he struck Mr. Milne on the head with the flat of his sword; but on his passion cooling, he sent for his prisoner, asked pardon for the indignity he had offered him; and, in fact, behaved with so much generosity and greatness of soul, that he was not content with an unreserved apology, he paid for Milne's passage to Panama; and after giving him several presents, and two hundred pieces of eight, sent him home, by the most direct conveyance, to his own country.

Such instances of magnanimity, in an exasperated enemy, deserve to be had in honourable remembrance. A good man, under the influence of passion, may be tempted to do wrong; but only a bad man will neglect to atone for the ill he has done.

The loss of so many hands on board this ship, increased the ill-humours of Clipperton's crew, and being in want of provisions, they again resolved to visit the Gallipagos Islands, after having set on shore the remainder of their prisoners.

Weary with the discontents of his people, which he could not allay, the captain now began to give himself up to the dangerous practice of intoxication. In short, he was scarcely ever sober. Weak minds, when distressed, too frequently seek refuge in inebriety, which aggravates every ill.

On the 4th of December, they approached the Gallipagos; but, by some unaccountable misconduct, they were unable now either to find water or anchorage. Thus disappointed, they sailed for the Isle of Cocoas, where they arrived in safety; and soon after, accommodations were provided, on shore, for the relief of the sick. But when
they

they prepared for sailing from thence, on a general muster, it was found that three Englishmen and eight negroes were missing; who, it appeared, preferred remaining on that desolate island.

Arriving on the coast of Mexico, they discovered a vessel, which, being chased by the pinnace, immediately struck. She proved to be the *Jesu Maria*, commanded by Captain Shelvock, who reported that he had only forty men alive; that he had lost the *Speedwell* at Juan Fernandez, where they had built a bark out of the wreck; that in coasting along Chili and Peru they had taken this prize; and that, in fine, they were all in confusion.

Captain Clipperton supplied his consort with some guns, ammunition, and other necessaries; and it was designed to attempt the Manilla ship, which was soon expected at Acapulco. On some disagreement, however, between the commanders, Clipperton abandoned this design, and immediately sailed for Guam, intending to return home by way of the East Indies.

After a run of fifty-three days, they reached that island, where they anchored on the 13th of May. The pinnace being sent with a flag of truce to the governor, to obtain provisions, soon returned with a present supply and a favourable answer. But matters soon took another turn; and Guam had nearly proved the destruction of Clipperton and all his crew.

The Marquis de Ville Roche going on shore, with the first lieutenant and surgeon, to treat about his ransom, gave rise to a serious dispute. When the English had almost laid in their stock of provisions, wood, and water, for which they furnished the governor with arms and ammunition

tion, the latter sent a demand for the restoration of some effects and slaves belonging to the marquis ; and, at the same time, desired a certificate under the captain's hand, that peace was proclaimed between the two nations.

Clipperton replied, he had, indeed, heard a rumour on the coast of Chili, that peace was established between the English and Spaniards, but that the stipulated ransom must be immediately paid, and the two English gentlemen returned, who were detained on shore, within twenty-four hours, or he would commence hostilities by firing the town, and doing all the damage he could among the islands.

Regardless of this menace, the governor only answered it by erecting a battery, from whence the Spaniards fired at the pinnacle. As for the ship, she unfortunately ran aground, equally exposed to the fire from the battery on shore, and a ship in the harbour ; and, in endeavouring to get her off, she stuck on the rocks. In this dangerous dilemma, the captain was so much intoxicated, that the officers were obliged to nominate Mr. Cook as their temporary commander.

By this time, one of the lieutenants was killed, and three men wounded ; and it was not without extreme difficulty and danger, that they got the ship again afloat. At length, however, they succeeded in getting her to sea ; but in a most shattered condition.

Having repaired their damages in the best manner they could, they were obliged to depart, leaving the lieutenant and surgeon behind ; together with the faithless marquis, who, it seems, was destitute of every honourable sentiment.

Passing the Bashee Islands on the 20th of June, they touched at some others not then named; and being unable to find their course to Macao, for want of a pilot, they sailed for Amoy, in Tonquin, where they arrived on the 8th of July. No sooner had they anchored there, than they were boarded by several custom-house officers, who demanded their country and business. They were informed that the ship belonged to the King of Great Britain, and that she put in there, in order to obtain provisions and necessaries.

Next day a mutiny broke out among the crew, who loudly demanded a distribution of the prize-money; and as they refused to perform any duty till their wish was complied with, Captain Clipperton found himself obliged to yield.

On the 16th of September, the division was made, when every foremast man shared four hundred and nineteen dollars, no reserve having been made for those who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners, or for the representatives of the dead.

The share appertaining to the owners, amounting to seven thousand pounds, in plate, gold, and jewels, Clipperton shipped on board a Portuguese ship, called the Queen of Angels, commanded by Don Francisco le Vero. This vessel was afterwards burned at Rio Janeiro; and out of the English property, no more than one thousand eight hundred pounds were saved.

Having left Amoy, where they paid the most extravagant port charges, they held on their course to Macao. Here they all fell into confusion. Clipperton's ship being surveyed and condemned, was sold for four thousand dollars; however, her old commander agreed with her

purchasers for a passage in her to Batavia. His men now shifted for themselves, according to their different fancies. Twenty of them, intending to proceed to Canton, were taken by pirates; Mr. Taylor, the chief mate, and some others, got safe to China, in an open boat, from whence they procured a passage home, and arrived safe in London, in May 1722. Captain Clipperton came home in a Dutch East Indiaman, from Batavia. He was landed at Galway, in Ireland, in the beginning of July 1722; but, broken with toils and soured with disappointments, he lived only a few days to feel their weight.

Such was the disastrous end of Clipperton's expedition. We will now give a connected account of Shelvock's proceedings, who has left a very circumstantial narrative of his voyage.

The separation of the two commanders has already been mentioned. Shelvock says it was unavoidable; and adds, that his men were so terrified by the storm, that the officers were obliged to appear armed, to prevent them from seizing the ship and returning to England.

"We had a very tedious voyage," says Shelvock, "to our first place of rendezvous, the Canary Islands, where we did not arrive till the 17th of March. During our cruise nothing material happened, except that we took an open boat, laden with salt and wine. As we could hear nothing of the Success, on the 29th we took our departure for Ferro, in hopes of falling in with Captain Clipperton, among the Cape Verd Islands.

In our passage thither, my men began to murmur; and the gunner very gravely made a proposal to me, in the hearing of all the other officers,

cers, to go a cruising in the Red Sea : " For," said he, " there can be no harm in robbing those Mahometans ; but as for the Spaniards, they are good Christians, and it would doubtless be a sin to injure them."

On this curious harangue, I ordered him into confinement ; but having afterwards threatened to blow up the ship, at his own request, I discharged him as soon as we arrived, together with the chief mate, who had likewise been guilty of many irregularities.

On the 14th of April, we made the Isle of May, where we saw the wreck of the Vanzittern Indiaman, that had been cast away three weeks before. I endeavoured to avail myself of this circumstance, to obtain the necessaries we stood in need of ; but could procure nothing of any particular utility or value.

At this place I sold the prize for one hundred and fifty dollars, and filled the casks with water. Here six of my people having deserted, I applied, in vain, to the officer on shore, to have them delivered up ; but upon threatening to make reprisals, two of them were brought in. These poor fellows assured me, they had been seduced from their duty by the governor, who had represented, that they might all make their fortunes on the Vanzittern's wreck.

Finding I could hear no tidings of the Success, or procure any thing serviceable here, I resolved to proceed to St. Catharine's on the coast of Brasil, where I had read that necessaries might be had. We were fifty-five days in reaching this place, during which time there were few remarkable occurrences, except that on the 5th of June we fell in with a ship and spoke her ; and having

sent Captain Hatley, in the boat, with money to purchase tobacco, and to enquire after news, he returned, and reported, that no tobacco was to be procured. He was unwilling, however, it seems, to bring back the money; and accordingly he laid it out, childishly enough, in china ware and sweetmeats.

Having cast anchor at St. Catharine's, I immediately sent the carpenter on shore, with all the people that could assist him in felling trees, and sawing them into planks. The cooper and his crew were likewise employed in filling the casks. Meanwhile the inhabitants came off daily with their products, which they bartered for salt.

On the 2d of July, we were alarmed by the appearance of a large ship at anchor, in the vicinity of the place where we lay. I sent an officer in the launch, well manned and armed, to make his observations on her, and I put the ship into the best posture of defence. About noon, the launch returned; and in direct violation of my orders, I found the officer had gone on board the suspected vessel, which, indeed, enabled him to give a particular account of her, but endangered his own safety and that of his men. He reported, that this ship was the Ruby, formerly an English man of war, and that she was commanded by M. la Jonquiere, a Frenchman, who, with four hundred and twenty men of the same nation, though in the service of Spain, did not mean to offer us any molestation.

Next day the Ruby sailed towards us, and the captain sent one of his lieutenants and a priest to assure me of his friendship, and to desire I would dine with him. This invitation I accepted, and met with a very handsome reception, with liberal

beral offers of money on my bills in London, or whatever else the ship could supply me with. La Jonquiere informed me, that the Spaniards, in the South Seas, had advice of the two consort ships, and that they were preparing to receive us.

About this time, Hatley was charged, on common fame, with having being guilty of some speculation; but on being taxed with it, he evasively answered, that he had done nothing he was ashamed of, or could not justify.

M. la Jonquiere, in a day or two returned my visit, accompanied by several of his officers; but in the midst of the entertainment, my boatswain excited a disturbance, because he had not been invited of the party. This outrage, which was supported by a party he had formed, being pretty well quieted, my visitor declared, that if they persisted in their disobedience, he would see the ringleaders punished, by carrying them home in irons.

Next morning, the authors of this disturbance seemed ashamed of their conduct, and ascribed it to the effects of liquor. The boatswain made his humblest submissions, and prayed my lenity and forgiveness; withal, desiring I would permit him to return in the French ship. This I cordially acceded to, as I had found his turbulent disposition on a variety of occasions.

On the 15th of July, we saw a large ship plying into the harbour's mouth, which La Jonquiere mistaking for our consort, made him hasten his departure. On putting to sea, he saluted me with five guns.

During all this period, the carpenter went on but slowly in his operations; and at last, when he had prepared the timber, and was going to use it

on board, to my astonishment, he could find no nails fit for his purpose. It seems, that this necessary article in the voyage, and other stores, had been embezzled before I assumed the command of the ship.

Soon after this unpleasant discovery, the *Wife Solomon*, of St. Maloes, of forty guns, and about one hundred and sixty men, commanded by M. Dumain Girard, came in. She was bound to the coasts of Chili and Peru, on a trading voyage; and was the same ship as had alarmed M. la Jonquiere.

This new French acquaintance I soon found to be a mercenary, designing man, possessing all the vanity and deceit generally ascribed to his nation. On my asking him if he could spare me any nails, he answered in the affirmative; but knowing my wants, fixed a most extravagant price on them, not less than thirty dollars a hundred, which demand I was obliged to comply with, and so in proportion for other articles he had to dispose of.

Having procured the most essential necessities, I now began to think of expediting my departure. At this period a letter was addressed to me by the ship's company, with articles annexed to it, for the immediate distribution of the prize-money, which, they plainly declared, they were resolved to insist on, as some of them knew, from woeful experience, the consequence of delay.

They were so very importunate to carry this point, that both myself and the principal officers thought it most advisable to sign our acquiescence in their claims, rather than run the risk of the consequences that might attend our refusal. Having effected their wishes, they expressed great satisfaction,

satisfaction, and promised to be always ready to hazard their lives in prosecution of the objects of the enterprize.

The St. Francisco Xavier, a Portuguese man of war, of forty guns, and three hundred men, bound to Macao, came in on the 3d of August. She was commanded by Captain la Riviere, a Frenchman. Captain Hatley, being grievously suspected of having, on a former occasion, offered some insults to the Portuguese, I apprized him of the necessity of coming to an explanation, lest any disturbance should arise on his account. This he readily engaged to do; and on his return, informed me, that the Portuguese captain could not conceive it possible, that a gentleman, in his situation, should do any thing to render such an apology necessary.

Three of my men having deserted, the mate and some seamen went up to the Portuguese plantations in quest of them. It being almost midnight when they arrived, the inhabitants were alarmed, and planted an ambuscade to cut them off in their retreat. No sooner had they entered their boat, than they heard the Portuguese rushing from the woods, exclaiming, "Kill the dogs, kill all the English dogs!"

This outcry was instantly followed by a volley of small arms, which wounded three of the party. I dispatched a letter of complaint to the captain of the Portuguese vessel, by Hatley; but no sooner had he gone on board the ship, than he was furiously assaulted by the captain of the island, who cried, that this was the man who had been guilty of so many insolencies towards them; and had made it a practice to abuse and affront him with opprobrious epithets.

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On this exclamation, the ship's company siding with him, fell upon Hatley ; and would certainly have treated him and his boat's crew with much severity, had not the captain of the ship rescued him from their hands.

La Riviere expressed his concern for what had happened ; but said his people were without control, and that it was not in his power to punish them ; adding, that the desire of revenge would only expose my men to danger, perhaps, to destruction. In short, he made all the apologies in his power for such an affair having happened on board his ship ; but, at the same time, gave me to understand, that Hatley had provoked the Portuguese by an insult of the grossest nature, in their estimation.

After this unpleasant rencounter, I soon took my departure from St. Catharine's, and for the most part had very squally weather. As we advanced to the southward, the appetites of my people became so voracious, that the usual allowance of government was not sufficient to satisfy them. Some of my officers, in particular Mr. Betagh, captain of marines, who had been purser of a man of war, and was a man whom I sincerely regarded, were champions for an additional allowance at my table. Nor did Betagh stop here ; but, urged by the intemperance of passion, and finding me unwilling to squander away our provisions, without knowing, for a certainty, where we could find a supply, at length had the insolence to tell me, " That the voyage should be short with me ;" a menace which he often repeated.

Had this gentleman been capable of commanding, I might have been under some apprehension,

hensions, that he would have tried to verify his denunciation ; but not intimidated, I excluded him from my mess and the great cabin.

Finding I was now in earnest with him, he sent a letter, begging my pardon and promising amendment ; on which I reinstated him in my favour, which the sequel will shew he little deserved.

On the 19th of September, the water all at once became discoloured ; and on heaving the lead, we found ourselves in twenty-six fathoms water. I immediately stood off to sea ; but in running five leagues we did not deepen our water. This was very near the Straights of Magellan, which I might have passed with much facility ; but as Captain Clipperton had pretended, that the Straights of La Maire would be safest, though he did not try them himself, I was induced to lay aside this intention.

On the 13th of September, the fog clearing up, discovered to our view one of the most desolate countries that imagination can conceive. It appeared nothing but a continuation of ridges and chains of mountains, rising behind one another, perpetually buried in snow. Towards noon we were becalmed near the mountains called the Three Brothers, so denominated from their equal height, near resemblance, and proximity.

Hitherto we had been little sensible of currents ; but this afternoon we were hurried into the Straights with amazing impetuosity ; and having reached the mid passage, the northern tide rushed in with such violence, as soon drove us out of the Straights again, though the wind was not unfavourable.

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After various conflicts with the winds, tides, and currents, and a heavy rolling sea, beyond what I had ever witnessed, we got into regions of such intense cold, that on the 3d of October, while the men were furling the main sail, one of them cried out, that his hands were so benumbed he could not keep his hold ; and before his companions could render him any assistance, he dropped into the sea, and was lost in spite of all our endeavours.

On the 22d, we lost our fore topmast ; but repairing this calamity in the best manner we could, at last we passed the Straights of La Maire, and had a view of the coast of Chili. During this tedious and hazardous voyage, we had a succession of adverse winds and stormy weather.

In want of wood and water, it was my wish to reach the Island of Juan Fernandez, but a variety of circumstances concurred to render this impracticable. Surrounded with doubts and apprehensions, lest we should be obliged to advance too far on the coasts where we now were, without a competent stock of provisions, one Joseph la Fontaine, a native of France, assured me, that if we could make the Island of Chiloe, at this time a little to the northward, it was the most favourable place for our purpose, of any in the South Seas ; as there were rich towns in the vicinity, and magazines always well stored with provisions of every kind.

On these considerations, I resolved to proceed to Chiloe ; and on the 30th of November we entered the channel, with an intent to surprise the towns of Chacao and Calibuco. But scarcely had we come to, before a prodigiously rapid tide, and an increasing gale, made the channel appear like
one

one continued breach. Thus situated, our cable parted, and we lost our anchor.

Having got into a place of security, I dispatched the second lieutenant to discover the towns of Chacao and Calibuco; and at the same time recommended it to Captain Hatley to go in search of a watering place. The latter soon returned, and brought with him an Indian, who gave us hopes of a sufficient supply for our wants; but afterwards brought us the disagreeable information, that the inhabitants were interdicted from giving us any relief.

The lieutenant having prolonged his stay, made me suspect that he had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, by which means they had gained information of us. However, on a Spanish officer coming off in a paragua, I hoisted French colours; and pretended that the ship belonged to that nation, and was homeward bound. Under this belief the officer remained all night; and when he departed next morning, I sent by him to the governor, to request a supply of provisions, to enable me to prosecute my voyage to France. In reply, I received a complaint against the violence of our men, in killing their sheep and driving away their cattle; by which I was sensible the lieutenant and party had landed.

Finding that this was no season to temporize, I sent a peremptory requisition for what I wanted; at the same time giving the governor to understand, that all the force he could muster should not deter me from supplying myself, if he neglected my demands. In answer to this, a message arrived, to signify that they would treat with me, if I would send an officer to Chacao; but I avowed my determination to treat no where,
save

save on board my own ship ; and farther, that I had already dispatched eighty men to supply themselves with what we wanted. The lieutenant and party soon after came in, with some frivolous excuses for delay, which I silently acquiesced in, though I was sensible the misconduct of this officer had ruined my views on this coast.

By the middle of December, we had our decks full of cattle and corn. In a word, we added at least a month's provisions to our former stores, without the least molestation from the enemy. On the 17th, we set sail with a favourable wind. The preceding day, one of the men had escaped into the woods, and as it was probable he would disclose our designs as far as he knew them, this, added to the ill conduct of the lieutenant, made me reflect on the impossibility of doing any thing of importance with such officers and such men.

On leaving Chiloe, it was my design to proceed for Juan Fernandez ; but my people, at the instigation of the Frenchman, whose advice had formerly been taken, were bent on going to the Port of Conception. Finding it prudent to yield, lest the men should be tempted to throw off all control, I listened to their suggestions ; though they were conveyed in language not very civil or dutiful.

For Conception we steered, and arrived there on the 23d of December. I immediately ordered the boats, well manned and armed, to surprise by night what vessels lay in the harbour, and to reconnoitre the place. Hatley returned soon after in the pinnace ; informing me, that they had taken the *Solidad de Anday*, of one hundred and fifty tons, laden with timber from *Baldivia*, and a small vessel of twenty-five tons, with a priest,
her

her owner, on board. This vessel, which we named the Mercury, we found very useful, being excellently adapted for look-out expeditions. Hatley, however, suffered another small vessel full of men to escape, without the least attempt to detain her. She was bringing advice of us from Chiloe; and consequently ought to have been secured, had this officer possessed either policy or common sense.

The priest being very solicitous to ransom his bark, was permitted to go on shore for money. Meanwhile we received intelligence of a vessel laden with wine, brandy, and other articles, lying at anchor about two leagues from us; on which I dispatched Mr. Randall, the second lieutenant, and twenty-five men to secure her; but positively not to land, or make any hazardous attempt whatever.

Next evening, however, they returned with a dismal story, that finding the vessel hauled on shore, the officer had ordered them to land and carry off from her what they could; but their career was soon stopped, for they no sooner set their feet on shore than the enemy furiously fell upon them. However, they all escaped, except five who, they agreed, were cut to pieces in shoal water.

This new addition to our misfortunes had a very dispiriting effect on the greatest part of the ship's company. Nothing was now heard but murmurs and curses. As I was expostulating with Mr. Randall, who conducted this unfortunate enterprise, I espied a large ship coming round the most northern point of the Island of Quiriquine. As it was almost dark, she stood towards us without fear or suspicion; and when

she approached near enough, I fired a gun, on which she immediately struck. She proved to be the St. Fermin from Calao, of three hundred tons burden, laden with sugar, molasses, rice, coarse linen, and some country cloth; besides a quantity of chocolate, and about six thousand dollars in specie and plate.

The agent for prizes and the ship's company's agent went to inspect her lading; and in a short time they returned with many packages, stores, and other commodities, to a considerable amount. Don Francisco Larrayn, the captain, being desirous of ransoming his ship, I readily sent him on shore in the launch.

Soon after a flag of truce came off, with seven jars of wine, as a present from the governor, and a letter full of civility; but written with much art; in which he desired to see my commission, and that then he would treat with me according to the law of arms. By this conveyance I had the pleasure of hearing that two of our men, who were supposed to have been killed, were only wounded, and in a fair way of recovery.

To satisfy the governor, in regard to my commission, I sent the captain of marines to Concepcion with a copy of it, and of the declaration of war, &c. He soon returned, accompanied by a Flemish Jesuit, a Spanish lawyer, an Englishman, and a Scotchman. The Jesuit assured me he was only come to pay his respects, and to render his best services, in bringing the affair of the ransom to a favourable conclusion. He then told me that the captain of the St. Fermin had resolved to give twelve thousand dollars for her and the Solidad, instead of sixteen thousand which I had demanded for the St. Fermin alone.

To

To this propofal I refolutely declared my dif-
fent ; and affured them that no perfuafions or ar-
tifices fhould prevail on me to comply. In the
St. Fermin, we had taken ten large filver candle-
fticks, each worth about twenty-five pounds fter-
ling. The holy father, in a very fuppliant man-
ner, represented to me that they were a legacy to
his convent ; and hoped I would not prevent
fuch a noble charity. To fhew my readinefs to
oblige him, I offered them for their weight,
without regard to the workmanfhip ; but he
evaded this, by faying they never bought any thing
for facred ufes.

After many futile altercations, both about
this and the ranfom of the fhips, the bufinefs
went off. Two days paffing, in which I heard
nothing from the governor, I began to fufpect
that he had other objects in contemplation be-
fides the ranfom. At laft, however, the wound-
ed men were fent on board with a letter, import-
ing that as the prifoners were now fent back, the
governor hoped that I would not hesitate in dif-
miffing the Spaniards in my poffeffion.

No farther intelligence arriving from the town,
and defpairing of obtaining any ranfom for the
fhips, I ordered them to be burnt ; and then fet fail
for Juan Fernandez. In our courfe, the plunder
was fold before the maff, and the men had their
refpective fhares allotted them, which they were
very importunate to obtain.

We arrived at the Ifland of Juan Fernandez
about the middle of January, and found fome
notification that Captain Clipperton had been
there ; but not the leaft direction how to proceed,
in cafe we fhould touch ; which ftrengthened my

conviction, that it was not my consort's wish to have our company.

Designing to look into Copaiipo, on the 21st of January, I sent the Mercury to reconnoitre; but the officer to whom this business was committed, reporting that no ships were in the port, I dispatched him again to examine the harbour of Caldera, and to return as quickly as possible. Here too they discovered nothing; but instead of coming off directly to join me, they missed the land-wind, and delayed my sailing for an entire day.

On the 5th of February, I sent an officer ahead, to discover if there was any shipping in Arica Bay; and when I came in sight of this port myself I descried the Mercury standing out of the Bay, from which I conjectured that a ship in sight had been too powerful for her. This determined me to make all possible sail to her relief. When I came up, I had the pleasure to find, that the ship was already captured, and that the Mercury had accidentally drifted.

This prize was called the Rosario, of one hundred tons, laden with cormorant's dung, which is extremely valuable as a manure, in the culture of the agi, or cod-pepper. The only white person on board was the pilot, by whom I sent a letter to the owner, offering him the liberty of ransoming the ship. I received an early answer, in which the owner pleaded poverty, but expressed his readiness to comply with my demand, to the utmost extent of his power. We agreed for one thousand five hundred pieces of eight; and the honest man was so punctual, that he paid the stipulated sum the same evening.

Soon after we took a small bark, laden with the same commodity, which the Spaniards call guana,

guana, and some dried fish. The poor owner came off, in a balse, or seal bark, with two jars of brandy and forty pieces of eight to ransom her. I accepted his offer, and made him happy in the recovery of his vessel.

Sailing from Arica, I again fell in with the *Wife Solomon*, in the *Road of Hillo*. This vessel seeming determined to protect a convoy, we made no attempt upon them; but continued our voyage, and in its course, divided the plunder lately taken. On the 22d of February, we came abreast of Callao, but attempted nothing.

In a few days the officers, who had for some time navigated the *Mercury*, desired to be relieved; and it being Captain Hatley's turn to take charge of her, he proposed that we might follow the trendings of the shore, till we had got the length of Lobos. Of this proposal I could not disapprove, considering the probability there was of falling in with the Panama ships. Every person appearing well satisfied with my resolution, I increased the *Mercury's* complement of men, and lent Hatley the pinnace.

Every thing being ready for their departure, Captain Betagh of the marines, whose duty it was to relieve the marine officer on board the *Mercury*, being averse to this service, addressed himself to the ship's company, and with a dejected look, said that they were all sent to be sacrificed; using many other expressions to excite mutiny.

I now began to apprehend that he wished to execute some of his former threats respecting me; and therefore appealed to the crew, and desired to know if any of them were of Betagh's opinion? With one voice, they exclaimed, No! Satisfied

in this critical affair, Hatley and Betagh went on board, and on putting off, gave us three cheers. Next day they took a small bark laden with rice; and the following, another. On the seventh day of their absence, they got possession of a ship of two hundred tons burden, worth one hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight.

Flushed with this success, it seems Betagh cajoled Hatley and a majority of the crew into a scheme of departing with their prize for India. But scarcely had they resolved on this piratical step, before they saw a sail standing towards them, which proving to be a Spanish man of war, soon put an end to their intended voyage. The prisoners in general were treated but indifferently; but Betagh, being a Catholic and an Irishman, as a reward for his treachery and the intelligence he gave respecting my designs, was promoted to the rank of an officer in the Spanish service. From the accounts this traitor gave of our plan of future operations, I was not free from apprehension lest I should soon be captured also.

On the last day of February, we anchored in the Road of Guanacho, where we found a sail with only two men and a boy on board. From them we learned, that there was a rich prize in the Cove of Païta. When, however, we arrived there, we discovered only one small vessel at anchor, almost unrigged.

As it entered into the scheme of the voyage to attempt the town, I consulted my officers on the subject; and next morning early, I landed with forty-six men, leaving the master to bring the ship nearly in, that we might the more expeditiously embark the plunder. I marched up to the great church without opposition, for the inhabitants

tants had all fled. At day light we observed large bodies of men on the surrounding hills, with whom I expected to have had a rencounter; but as we advanced, they retired.

The day was spent in shipping off what plunder we could lay our hands on: it chiefly consisted of provisions, of which we accumulated a large stock. In the afternoon, a messenger came to know what I would fix for the ransom of the town. I proposed ten thousand pieces of eight, to be paid within twenty-four hours. The governor, however, gave me plainly to understand, that he neither could, nor would, agree to my terms; and that he did not care what I did with the town, so I spared the churches.

Having received this definitive answer, I collected whatever was valuable in the town, and then ordered the houses to be set on fire. No sooner, however, was Paita in a blaze, than those on board made signals for me to come off; and kept incessantly firing towards the mouth of the harbour.

On this I ordered off all my hands; but judge my surprise, when I discovered a large ship, bearing a Spanish flag, ready to fall upon us! I now looked back on the burning town, and regretted that I had been so precipitate. By the judicious conduct, however, of Mr. Coldsea, the master, I got all my people safe on board. The enemy was now within pistol shot; and his formidable appearance struck an universal damp on the spirits of the crew. I expected every minute he would attempt to board us: but having lost his opportunity, we cut our cable, and by dint of manœuvring, got at some distance before he could bring a broad-

a broadside to bear. This doing little execution, we crowded sail and soon got out of his reach.

This ship was called the *Peregrine*. She carried fifty-six guns and four hundred and fifty men. During this unequal engagement, we had not a man either killed or wounded; though we were much exposed, and once, in particular, a shot entering one of the ports, dismounted a gun and tore off its nut, which breaking into many pieces, flew about without injuring any one. The ship, however, had received very material damage; and an unlucky shot took the bow of our launch and set fire to some cartridges that had been negligently left uncovered, which blew away her moorings, and occasioned her loss.

The admiral seeing we were able to outsail him, tacked and stood in for Paita. A narrower escape from an enemy of such superior force could not well have been made. We had neither a third part of the guns nor men: the Spaniard too advanced in a state of preparation; we were taken by surprise, and in confusion. Our small arms were wet, and therefore useless; and what was worse, one-third of the men were engaged in making preparations for an obstinate resistance, had we been pushed to extremities, while the rest had to combat, and to manage the sails.

On the whole, it was fortunate we got off from this imminent danger, which was the more to be dreaded, as the conflagration of the town must have exasperated the enemy to an unusual degree; and we had little mercy to expect, had we fallen into their hands. At best, however, this was a very disagreeable affair. The loss of the boat and anchor was irreparable; and may be said to be the cause of that scene of trouble and distress

trefs which will occupy the remainder of this narrative.

Next morning we saw two sail astern of us. One of them evidently intended for Païta ; and the nearer I approached the other, the less I liked her appearance, which induced me to tack about and crowd sail from her. However, she gained upon us, and advanced sufficiently near to shew us that she was the Brilliant, a ship of thirty-six guns, chiefly manned with French, and consort to the admiral from whom we had just escaped. She was a remarkable swift sailer, and was handsomely rigged : and had not night come on, it would have been impossible for us to escape.

I now bethought myself of playing the old stratagem, which I supposed might be new in this part of the world, of turning a light adrift in a half tub, instead of a boat, and then immediately altered my course. As the day broke, I could perceive nothing of the enemy : this was our second providential escape.

It seems Betagh sailed on board this last ship, and by his advice it was that the admiral directed his consort to ply up to windward of Lobos, our first place of rendezvous, while he himself proceeded to Païta in quest of us. This separation, which was intended as a sure method of catching us, was the very means of our preservation.

Finding myself thus closely pursued, I took an offing of thirty leagues from the shore, and then lay by, to consider what was to be done. An embargo I understood had been laid on all ships to leeward for the space of six months ; our prize, which I meant to convert into a fire-ship, was
captured

captured by the Brilliant; I was yet ignorant of the fate of the Mercury; and in regard to my consort, I was perfectly in the dark.

In this dilemma, I assembled my officers; and suggested that on the coast of Chili we might have a better chance of advantage, and a greater probability of being safe than where we were; that after watering at Juan Fernandez, we should cruise for the remainder of the season off the ports of Conception, Valparaiso, and Coquimbo, where we might probably be supplied with an additional ship, and all manner of naval stores.

This plan being universally approved, we stretched away to windward. My views, after the accomplishment of these previous steps, were fixed on the Coast of Mexico, where by running up to a high latitude, there was not only the chance of falling in with Captain Clipperton, but also of meeting the Manilla ship.

On the 11th of May, we came in sight of Juan Fernandez. Here I plied off and on till the 21st, when a strong gale arose, attended with a tumbling sea, in which the cable parted, and inevitable shipwreck appeared before our eyes. Indeed it was owing to a signal interposition of Providence, that we struck where we did, as a few fathoms, on either side, would have been certain destruction to us all. All our masts went away together; and happy was it for us they did so, as they furnished us with a raft, by which we were all saved, excepting one person. In the midst of this calamity, I secured my commission, and a few bags of bread, two compasses, and some mathematical instruments and books. The vessel filled with water in a few minutes after she struck, but did not immediately go to pieces.

When

When we first reached the shore, we had only the cold ground to repose our drenched limbs on. In short, we were almost totally destitute. In the evening we lighted a fire, and wrapping ourselves up in what we could get, laid ourselves round it; and notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, slept very sound. In the morning, we looked like men just awakening from a dream; and so great and melancholy was the change in our circumstances, that we could scarcely credit our own senses.

I immediately tried to assemble the people, to attempt saving some necessaries and provisions from the wreck; but they were so dispersed and confounded, that I could not readily collect them, or we might probably have recovered our beef and pork. This opportunity was lost by their eagerness to erect huts and tents for their future habitations; and in the meanwhile, a furious storm arose, which destroyed all the provisions in the ship, except one cask of beef and another of farina de Pao, which were washed on the strand. All the money was irrecoverably lost, save one thousand one hundred dollars belonging to the adventurers.

About half a mile from the shore, I found a convenient place for erecting my tent. A fine stream of water ran on each side of it: fuel was plenty at hand, and trees proper for our use. The crew settled round me; and each having secured himself from the inclemency of the weather, in the best manner that circumstances would allow, we used to pass our tedious evenings round a large fire, roasting craw-fish in the embers.

I now began to think of building such a vessel, out of the materials of the wreck, as might be
sufficient

sufficient to carry us all off; and consulting with the carpenter on the subject, received a very unfavourable reply. I next addressed myself to the armourer, who having secured his bellows, expressed his hopes that he might be able to furnish the iron work, with the assistance he expected to find from the wreck.

At last I was able to engage them in good earnest to undertake the building of a bark; but being divided into parties, I had little control over their general conduct, and they went on with the work just as they pleased. I was obliged to bribe the carpenter to lend his assistance; and at last a bark of about twenty tons was finished, fit only for the present exigency. The armourer had also begun a boat which was now completed; and we employed her in fishing for conger eels, of which a quantity was cured for a supply.

When the bark was first put into the water she leaked so fast, that the universal cry was a "sieve! a sieve!" However, by incessant labour, we adapted the ship's pumps to her, and on the 5th of October, we launched her by the name of the Recovery. We had no other anchor than a large stone tied to a rope, which the least puff of wind might have separated. I therefore saw the danger of lying here long; and having got the men and stores on board, we began to prepare for our voyage. About twelve of the crew were left behind, who could not be prevailed on to accompany us, they were deaf to all solicitations; and only returned for answer, "that they were not yet prepared for the other world."

Captain Shelvock observes, so salubrious is the air of this island, that out of seventy persons who remained

remained there five months and eleven days, not one had an hour's illness; notwithstanding their foul diet and poor accommodations. Shelvock himself, from being almost a cripple with the gout, became strong and active. He gives the same account as other voyagers of the beauty of the island, and of the grand and romantic prospects which it exhibits. The vast number of goats which it supplies, furnished an excellent and nutritious aliment.

While we lay here, continues the captain, it was the season for the sea-lionesses to bring forth their young. They are of a monstrous size; and I may venture to affirm that, one with another, they would yield a butt of train oil.

They are so indolent, that no sooner have they reached the land, than they fall asleep, and remain in that state of torpidity for a month; but after they have brought forth their young, an old sea-lion of the largest size keeps incessant watch, and at the approach of an enemy, makes a hideous roaring.

Every thing one hears or sees on this island is of a peculiar character. The very structure of the isle, in all its parts, exhibits a certain savage irregular beauty, beyond the powers of expression. The several prospects of lofty, inaccessible hills in the day, and the solitariness of the gloomy narrow vallies in the night, added to the mixed and confused noise of the surge, continually beating against the shore; the tumbling of the waters from one immense precipice to another; the roaring of the sea-lions and seals, whose voices are more or less shrill or hoarse in proportion to their age or youth; compose so wild and horrible a medley, that the stoutest heart must be long habituated

bituated to the scene, before it can taste the sweets of refreshing sleep, or wholly divest itself of terror.

We at last set sail on the 6th of October, having nothing to subsist on at sea but smoked conger eels, and a few bushels of farina. We were forty in number, crowded together, without any conveniencies for cleanliness, or any thing to defend us from the abominable stench of the fish; nor was there a drop of water to be had without sucking it out of the cask, through a pipe which we promiscuously used. Our unfavoury morsels created continual quarrels for the frying pan; and as we had but a very indifferent convenience in regard to fire, the noise of frying was heard from morn till night.

Thus we traversed the ocean, happy, however, in the idea of being once more afloat; and cherishing the hopes, that something would soon fall into our hands that would better our circumstances, and strengthen our security.

On the 4th day of our voyage, we fell in with a Spanish vessel, named the *Margarita*, which we vigorously attacked, but were thrice repulsed. All night we lay by, providing flugs, ammunition being extremely scarce, and when morning appeared, and dispositions were made for boarding the Spaniard, or yielding to her superior force, a fresh gale unfortunately sprang up, and waisted the chace out of our reach. In our engagement with this ship, the gunner was killed; and the first lieutenant, the master, and one of the sailors were wounded.

Our situation now became more forlorn than ever; for soon after we parted with this vessel a heavy gale came on, which lasted four days without intermission,

termiffion, during which time we were in the momentary expectation of perifhing. The various diftreffes we endured are not to be defcribed. So exceffively were the crew alarmed at their imminent danger, that they formed the refolution of getting on fhore the firft opportunity.

In this extremity, recollecting an account I had read of Iquique, I mentioned to the crew the furprifal of that place, which being univerfally approved of, we directed our courfe thither. It was three weeks, however, before we got this length; and having nothing to ride the bark with, we were obliged to keep the fea; while the boat made the fhore, and was received by fome Indians on the ftrand with a kind of welcome.

The men being landed, proceeded to the lieutenant's houfe, broke it open, and ranfacked the whole village, where they found what in our prefent fituation was more eftimable than filver or gold. The booty confifted of fifty bufhels of wheat flour, one hundred and twenty of garavances, fome thoufand pounds weight of well-cured fifh, a good number of fowls, fome jerked beef, pork, and mutton, rusk, and fresh bread; befides fix jars of Peruvian wine and brandy. To crown all, they had the good fortune to find a boat near the fhore, which ferved to bring off the plunder, without which the greateft part of it would have been loft.

The fettlement of Iquique confifted of about forty ftraggling, ill-constructed houfes, which fcarcely deferved that name, and a fmall church. There is not the leaft verdure to be feen near it, nor does it afford a fingle neceffary of life; not even water, which the inhabitants are obliged to fetch in boats from the diftance of ten leagues.

Two Indian prisoners informed us, that the lieutenant's boat was then at Pisagua, and that it was soon expected to return. However, being determined to make some attempt in the Road of Le Nasco and at Pisco, we set sail for the former; and next morning, before day, we fell in with a large ship, which we ineffectually tried to capture, having the misfortune to be becalmed. For several hours we resolutely struggled with this inconvenience, but with all our efforts, we were obliged to relinquish our expected prize.

This ship was called the St. Francisco Palacio, of seven hundred tons, carrying eight guns, and ten pattereroes. She was well manned, and provided with small arms. Our unavoidable failure was made a pretence for murmuring. Many despairing of ever being able to capture a ship in our condition, were inclined to surrender to the enemy, who lay becalmed by us all night. To prevent this desperate design, I secured the two boats, by stationing two men in each, in whom I placed some confidence. But notwithstanding my precaution, I had the mortification to find next morning, that the best boat was gone; and that a powerful party was formed to carry off the other. Fortunately, however, the wind springing up fresh, prevented the conspirators from executing their design.

Next day we stood into the Road of Pisco, where we discovered a pretty large ship. We bore down to her with a resolution bordering on despair; but to our great satisfaction met with no resistance. The captain and his officers received us with their hats off in the most submissive manner, praying for quarter. Before we came up, I had ordered our boat to secure theirs, which

which was making for the shore. By some misconduct, they suffered her to escape; and with her we lost every thing that would have been most valuable in the prize.

The captured ship was about two hundred tons burden, called the *Jesu Maria*, and was chiefly laden with pitch, tar, copper, and plank. The captain wished to ransom her for one thousand six hundred dollars; but situated as I was, it was impossible to listen to any overture of this kind. He informed me that the *Margarita* had arrived at Callao with the loss of her captain and three men killed in the engagement; and that she was now refitting, together with a frigate of twenty-eight guns, in order to cruise for us.

On this advice, we made the Spanish captain a present of our bark, and immediately put to sea. In going out, we fortunately fell in with our boat which had deserted. The two men on board taking us for Spaniards, edged up to us, before they were sensible of their mistake. They were almost famished; having nothing to eat for three days, and had just been ashore to kill seals, in order to drink their blood. They could give no apology for their deserting us, farther than that they fell asleep; and the faint breezes, during the night, wafted them away from the ship.

Looking into the Roads of Malabriga and Cheripe, and seeing nothing, I passed between Lobos and the continent on the 25th of November; and soon made the Saddle of Païta. Here having made some prisoners, I received information that the town at present contained neither money nor provisions, the inhabitants having lately been alarmed by the depredations of Captain Clipperton on the coast.

This unfavourable report, however, did not prevent us from holding on our way with Spanish colours flying, till we came to the place of anchorage. Immediately I dispatched an officer and twenty-four men in both boats, the greater part lying on their arms, to prevent alarm. Thus they advanced towards the town; and the inhabitants were so perfectly satisfied that we were Spaniards, that the men, on landing, found the children playing on the beach. In an instant, however, the deceit was discovered; and the whole town was in confusion: the inhabitants flying, and carrying their valuables with them. We found here only a few bales of coarse cloth, some dried fish, and an inconsiderable quantity of bread and sweet meats.

As we lay at anchor, we took a boat, with fifty jars of Peruvian wine and brandy, which had clandestinely left Callao. The master of this vessel gave me intelligence respecting the fate of Hatley.

From this place we directed our course for the Island of Gorgona where we arrived on the 2d of December. Here water was so plentiful and convenient, that we filled our casks in a few hours; and as wood grew close to high water mark, we had dispatched all our business in two days. Indeed we were anxious to put to sea, lest we should be discovered by the enemy.

Having got out of the track where danger was chiefly to be apprehended, we consulted about our future scheme of action, when the majority were for proceeding directly to the Coast of Asia. On this we named our ship the Happy Return; and used all our endeavours to effect the purpose resolved on; but the winds and currents were adverse; and a party, who secretly opposed

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our

our views, had maliciously let much of our water run out. Thus both our stock of provisions and water became too short for such a long run; and therefore, to recruit, I proposed a descent on the Isle of Quibio, where I apprehended plenty was to be found.

On the 13th of January, we anchored near this island; and next morning descried two large piraguas under Spanish colours, which we determined at all hazards to attack. This enterprise was commanded by Mr. Brooks, who brought off the vessels, and two prisoners, a mulatto and a negro: the rest of the crew had taken refuge in the woods.

We were much mortified to find, that a vessel, laden with provisions, had passed us in the night; but to compensate for this disappointment, the mulatto prisoner promised to conduct us to a place where we might speedily supply ourselves without interruption. No news could be more welcome than this. Accordingly all hands were actively employed in expediting the present business of wooding and watering; and on the 19th of January we got safe in between Mariato and the island of Sebaco. Having previously arranged matters with our guide, I embarked at two next morning in the ship's boat, and ordered the lieutenants to follow me in the two piraguas. The mulatto conducted us some way up the river St. Martin, and then into creeks beset with mangroves, which made me begin to think of treachery; but just at day break he brought us in view of a fine savanna; and, after a short march, the sight of two farm-houses convinced us of the integrity of our guide. The inhabitants had fled, except the wife and children belonging to one of the
the

the planters. In the vicinity we saw numerous herds of black cattle, and plenty of hogs and fowls. In one of the farms we found some dried beef, plantains, and maize, and made a delicious breakfast on hot cake and milk; a diet to which we had been long unaccustomed.

When it was broad day light, I was surprised to see the ship close by us, and interrogated our guide why he had brought us such a circuitous route? He replied there was a river lay between us, which he did not think fordable. On examination, however, it was found not to be above knee deep; and therefore we resolved to take the shortest conveyance for our plunder.

While we were regaling ourselves at the house of the farmer, whose family had been left behind, the honest man, being anxious for their safety, returned, and made a voluntary offer of as many black cattle as we should think fit to require. This offer I thankfully accepted; and as we had little salt to cure them with, our demand was far from being immoderate. So great was our scarcity of salt, that we could not afford above five pounds to a hundred weight of beef. We therefore hit on an expedient of cutting the meat into long slips, and then slightly sprinkling it with salt. After which we hung it up to dry in the sun, which cured it beyond our expectations.

Having supplied ourselves to our minds, we again set sail, and on the 25th of January, we espied a vessel, to which we gave chase; but perceiving she was of European structure, I feared she might be one of the enemy's ships of war, and therefore tried to avoid her. However, this being impracticable, on account of a calm, in a short time, to our equal astonishment on both sides,

sides, came up a boat from the ship, which proved to be the Success. Lieutenant Davidson, who commanded the boat's party, could scarcely credit his own eyes, when he saw us in such a miserable plight; and I could with difficulty believe that the Success had been for such a long period wandering up and down these seas, without our having met with her before.

A gale soon springing up, we bore down to the Success, which I went on board of; and gave Captain Clipperton and the agent general the whole history of my voyage, and expected that I should have been considered as a man embarked in the same cause, and entitled to participate in the same interests. But in this I was mistaken; for having lost my ship, they declined having any connection with me*.

However, I conceived that the captain could not be so inhuman as to deny me a share of such necessaries as I wanted, and he could conveniently spare; but his only reply was, I should know more of his mind next day. In the conversation I had with him, among other circumstances, he mentioned that he was just come from the Isle of Cocoas, and that his men were very sickly, and at short allowance. Hearing this, I offered my services to pilot him to Mariato, about thirty leagues distant, where he might refresh his people, and obtain supplies. Having declined my offer, he told me he was resolved to make the

* It is to be observed, that the two commanders, who, unfortunately for themselves and their employers, were linked together in this expedition, on every occasion shewed a jealousy of each other, and a wish to detract and to vilify. Their representations of each other's conduct are therefore to be read with some allowance for the tinge of prejudice.

best of his way to Tres Marias, where he could find turtle enough.

Having left Captain Clipperton for the night, next morning, I prepared to go on board him with some of my officers; but when he saw us approaching, he suddenly spread all his canvases to the wind, and crowded away from the boat; on which I returned to the ship, and made signals of distress but in vain; till some of his officers, ashamed of his unfeeling conduct, reproached him with it, which induced him to bring to.

Exasperated at such inhuman treatment, I sent my first lieutenant on board, to know the reason of his abrupt departure, and to state my want of several necessaries, which, if I could not obtain as a matter of favour or of right, I was ready to pay for. He was now prevailed on to spare me two of his quarter-deck guns, some ammunition, a chart of the Coast of Mexico and part of India and China, a compass, about three hundred weight of salt, and some few other trifles; but with all the arguments I could use, he would not part with the least article out of his surgeon's chest, though I represented that Mr. Coldsea, our master, was in the most deplorable situation for want of medical assistance.

Having so far experienced and acknowledged Captain Clipperton's bounty, I again asked him if I could render him any service; observing that, though our ship made but a poor figure, I believed she could hold him way, and that our cargo was pretty valuable. To all this he replied, that he had no business with me, and that I must take care of myself.

The agent and two of my officers seeing but little prospect of ever being able to reach our
native

native country, and being weary of their situation, requested my permission to take a passage on board the *Succefs*. To this I consented; and these gentlemen being received, Clipperton immediately weighed, and left us to shift for ourselves in the best manner we could.

It was now my wish to proceed to the Bay of Panama, to try our fortune there; but the majority opposed me through fear of failure, and were desirous of going to Tres Marias, to salt turtle there, and then to stretch over to India. Accordingly, we directed our course thither, and again fell in with the *Succefs*; but though we ranged close under her stern, and civilly enquired after the health of the captain and officers, no notice was taken of us; and with the most perfect indifference, they steered one way, and left us to take another.

Calms, contrary winds, and unfavourable currents, soon reduced us to a short allowance, which we were obliged to diminish daily; and had it not been for the turtle we took on the surface of the water, our distresses must have been great indeed. However, the continual boiling of turtle speedily diminished our stock of water; and we were rapidly relapsing into a state of famine, which threatened inevitable perdition.

To escape this, no scheme presented itself so practicable as plundering some town along the coast. Guatulco was the nearest port; and the very morning we were steering in for this place, we espied a sail considerably to the leeward. It was thought more advisable to attempt this vessel, than to venture on shore; but when we bore down to her, we found her no other than the *Succefs*. This was a double disappointment; for
by

by this accident, we were got so far to the leeward of Guatulco, that it would have been difficult to recover it; and as the wind blew fair, we hoped it would soon waft us to some more favourable port.

In this, however, we were miserably deceived: the wind soon changed, and a succession of contrary gales reduced us to the last extremity. We were now obliged to have recourse to our smoked conger eels, which had lain neglected and rotting in the bilge water for some months; and, certainly, they were as unpleasant food as ever man ate.

Under these forlorn circumstances, we fell in with the *Succes* a fourth time, near the port of Angels; and after signals, we stood so near each other that a biscuit might have been tossed from one ship to the other; yet they did not exchange a word with us. It seems, that Captain Clipperton had strictly enjoined all his officers not to take the least notice of us; and though he was so truly sensible of the difficulties and hazards we had to cope with in a passage to India, that he expressed himself in terms denoting its impossibility, he remained so callous to our sufferings, and so indifferent about our fate, as not to offer a helping hand to rescue us from impending ruin.

Thus encompassed on all sides by present want and threatening disasters, on the 12th of March, being off the port of Acapulco, we saw a ship between us and the shore. She shewed Spanish colours, from which I conjectured she was a vessel of force, respecting which I had received some previous intelligence, and therefore, I endeavoured to avoid her. On this she hoisted an English ensign, and made the signal agreed on between
Clipperton

Clipperton and myself for recognising each other. Had there not been a probability of his being still on this coast, I was so far from expecting such a change in his conduct, that I should have regarded his signals as the artifice of an enemy, who might have gained them from the information of prisoners. However, being satisfied that this was no other than the Success, I bore down; and soon received an obliging letter from Clipperton, informing me, that he waited for the homeward-bound Manilla ship, and requesting I would assist him in the enterprise.

This invitation I cheerfully accepted, and sent word that I would come on board early next morning. Meanwhile I read his letter publicly to my people, and descanted on the advantages that would accrue to us from this union of interests. I found them all ready to lend their best assistance; but as Clipperton behaved in such an unhandsome manner before, they were desirous of obtaining some security for the performance of his present promises.

Accordingly, when I went on board the Success, I stated, in respectful terms, the wishes of my crew; on which a satisfactory instrument was drawn up, and signed by Clipperton, his officers, and the agents. We next deliberated on the main business; and, after mature consideration, it was thought most advisable to send the greatest part of my men on board the Success, so soon as the Manilla ship should appear; and that in case of need, my vessel should be converted into a fire ship. Various other arrangements were made, of which I approved. Clipperton said, he had certain information when the ship would sail from

the port; and from this it appeared, that we had still a fortnight to wait.

Before I returned to my own ship I acquainted Captain Clipperton with our real situation in regard to provisions and water. He told me he had eighty tons of water on board, and would supply me with that, or any thing else I stood in need of. Thus restored to my command, I felt the sincerest pleasure, and was well disposed to bury past insults in oblivion. My people too expressed the greatest satisfaction at the favourable prospect before their eyes; and unanimity seemed once more restored between all the parties concerned in the original expedition. One Morphey, however, dreading my resentment, went on board the *Succes*, and insinuated himself into the favour of the captain and officers, to my prejudice; while Mr. Rainer, who had formerly left us, and afterwards acted with us as captain of marines, came to visit his old ship mates, and remained on board our vessel.

We continued cruising in good order and with much hope till the 17th of March, when towards evening, Clipperton, contrary to his usual custom, stretched ahead of us, which alarmed me not a little. However, I kept standing after him during the night, as I thought, till we were almost in with the breakers on shore, which of course obliged us to tack, and stand out to sea. In the morning we had lost sight of our consort; and considering the deplorable situation we were in, I own I felt the most terrible apprehensions.

But notwithstanding our distress for the want of almost every necessary, we kept our cruising station for two or three days, in hopes of seeing the *Succes*, but at last, despairing of this event, we resolved

resolved to bear away to the nearest convenient watering place. In fact, it was time we should consult our own preservation, as we had a run of three hundred leagues before we could obtain supplies, and only three butts of water for forty men.

I was afterwards informed that the night Cliperton abandoned us, he assembled his officers, and told them his determination to quit the coast. Some of them remonstrated with him on the barbarity of leaving me, not only destitute, but in the dark with respect to his intentions; but he put them off with an inhuman sneer, saying, that should want compel me to surrender to the enemy, I should only share the same fate as others had done before me.

The ship, for which we were cruising, as I afterwards learned in China, came out in a week's space after we left the coast. Thus, through his dastardly spirit, or some worse motive, Cliperton lost as favourable an opportunity as ever presented itself, of securing this splendid prize.

On the 30th of March, we entered the road of Sanfonnate; and about sun-set, saw a ship at anchor there. As it was moon-light, I sent the first lieutenant and a party to make observations. He reported that the ship had one tier of guns at least; I nevertheless continued to ply in all night, and prepared for action. At day light we perceived they had been put on their guard, and had made preparations to blow us up, should we attempt to board them. Add to this, they were apparently much our superiors in strength; but not intimidated, after a brisk and effectual discharge of small arms, we came to close quarters, and in a short time she struck.

This ship was called the *Sacra Familia*, of three hundred tons, six guns, and eighty-six men. She had been some time arrived from Callao, laden with brandy and wine; but having discharged the greatest part of her cargo, we found only fifty jars of gunpowder, and some ruls and beef remaining on board. In short, the lading was hardly worth the trouble we had been at: but as the ship was much better found, in all respects, than ours, we made an exchange, and all went on board the prize.

A merchant desired we would then sell him the *Jesu Maria*, our old ship, to which I agreed; and he was sent on shore, to raise the stipulated sum. At night he came off with another Spanish gentleman, signifying that there was a treaty of peace on foot between their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, of which we had hitherto received no intimation.

I desired to see the proclamation and articles, expressing my readiness to obey the will of my sovereign. As these papers were to be fetched from Guatemala, fifty leagues distant, I agreed to wait, provided the governor would supply us with water and provisions. On the 5th of April, two papers were sent on board, which did not appear, from the best interpretation we could get of them, to have the form of proclamations. We expressed our wish to be indulged with an interpreter; and they engaged to send for an Englishman from Guatemala. This was a new delay, but we submitted on condition of regular supplies from the shore.

On the 7th, the first lieutenant and his party were detained by the governor, though they sailed under the sanction of a flag of truce. In the evening,

evening, I received a letter from the governor and another from the lieutenant. The former signified, that if we did not deliver up our ship to him, he would declare us pirates; the latter informed me, that it was intended to bully me into a surrender, as the governor had spoken very ambiguously of a cessation of arms.

On this I dispatched a letter to the governor, declaring, that if we could be ensured a safe conduct for ourselves and effects to Panama, and from thence, by way of Porto Bello, to any of the British colonies, we should be ready to treat; which he was to signify by firing two guns, and sending back my officer and men as soon as he received this advice: in case he neglected this, that I should be under the necessity of sailing.

The governor having neither sent back my men, nor returned me any signal, we weighed anchor, and at ten in the morning were obliged to proceed, lest we should be reduced to our last drop of water. Being now at sea, we proceeded to the Gulph of Amapalla to water, about thirty leagues to the east of this place.

The loss of my officer and boat's crew I very sensibly felt; and had we not taken with us some negro prisoners, who proved very good sailors, it would have been impossible to navigate the ship we had now taken possession of. The loss of the boat too was a sad inconvenience; but as we were still uncertain whether peace was actually proclaimed, we resolved to submit to our fortune till we could ascertain this momentous point.

The winds being propitious, we arrived in the Bay of Panama on the 10th; and found ourselves in the midst of several small islands, where we expected to discover water, but in vain.

Threatened on all sides with destruction, unfit to keep the sea, distrustful of the inhabitants on shore, and dispirited by an unbroken series of misfortunes, we were ready to sink under the pressure of calamity. However, we again put to sea, and reflecting on our situation, I brought my people to the obstinate resolution of not surrendering on this part of the coast, whatever might befall us.

On this agreement, which was unanimously adopted, with only forty gallons of water in the ship, we came to an allowance of no more than half a pint a day, and shaped our course for Quibio, about two hundred leagues distant. Both the winds and weather being variable, and little propitious, we were thirteen days at this allowance. Our sufferings from thirst were almost intolerable and beyond imagination. Some drank their own urine to allay their burning drought; some drank sea-water, which was near putting a period to their lives; while others dipped calavances in their miserable pittance of fresh water, and these sustained life best, and suffered least.

At length we were providentially relieved, by accidentally falling in with the Isle of Cano; where seeing a run of water, one of the officers, regardless of the dangerous surf, passed to the shore; and to the unspeakable joy of all, returned safe with sixty or seventy gallons. I was now obliged to use my authority to restrain my people from an immoderate use of the desirable fluid; and I had the greater reason to do this, as it was almost desperation to attempt landing amidst such breakers.

Next day, however, I sent the boatswain to endeavour to procure a farther supply; but after
many

many ineffectual attempts, he could not find one spot where he could venture on shore. Resolving therefore to husband what we had got, till we should reach Quibio, I weighed anchor, and in ranging the island, had the good fortune to discover a place from which we obtained nine jars more. This lasted us, with economy, till we reached the intended island, where we had twice anchored before.

Here we consulted about surrendering ourselves to the Spaniards at Panama; and in the meanwhile wooded and watered at leisure, and recruited the sick by the liberal use of the fruits and vegetables which Quibio produced. These being pretty well recovered, we again set sail; and on the 15th of May, a small bark, taking us for Spaniards, bore down upon us, the master of which was in the utmost consternation, when he discovered his mistake. Hearing, however, that we were bound to Panama, to surrender ourselves, he offered to pilot us thither; and as his vessel was leaky, he desired we would take her in tow.

I was pleased this bark fell into our hands, for in case we should discover the report of peace to be a falsity, we might, with her assistance, be better enabled to prosecute our voyage to India. Meanwhile it was frequently disputed who should be intrusted with the flag of truce; for having met with much perfidy, each was jealous of the other. At last it was thought most safe that my son should be sent; as he would certainly, for his father's sake, take no partial advantage of the trust. Other difficulties were started, which could not be so easily obviated; however, we proceeded in the same intention.

On

On the 17th another small bark came down upon us; but finding we were strangers, she ran directly on shore, at the imminent hazard of the lives of every person on board. This fear made me suspect, that the account we had heard of a cessation of arms was premature.

Soon after, we saw another sail; and being desirous of speaking with her, we dispatched the prize bark after her with four of our own people and five Spaniards on board. We gained little on her all day, but the bark got much ahead of us. Next morning, however, we came within gunshot of the chace, on which I ordered our colours to be spread, and waved a flag of truce. In contempt of this, she fired at us; which, attributing to mistake, I ordered one of the Spanish prisoners to inform them, that we were bound to Panama, and desired to trade peaceably, hoping they would respect the flag of truce. Still, however, they continued their fire, probably from a presumption that we were unable to defend ourselves; on which I gave them such a warm salute, that they attempted to sheer off. The engagement continued for two or three hours, when a gale wafting us close up to them, their captain fell as he was bravely encouraging his people, and the crew immediately cried out for quarter.

Mr. Randall and a few more went on board the prize, and found them in the most suppliant posture, imploring that mercy which they knew they had forfeited by their outrageous conduct, which was contrary both to the laws of arms and nations.

This ship was named the Conception de Recova, belonging to Callao. She was of two hundred tons burden, and was laden with flour, sugar,

gar, and a variety of preserves. She mounted six guns, and had seventy men. The captain and a negro were killed in the engagement, and a few were wounded. On our part, the gunner was slightly wounded, and the mainmast was a little injured by a shot.

Among the prisoners were several persons of note, particularly the Count de Rosa, who had been governor of Pisco, and Captain Morel, who had formerly been taken by Rogers. They were all treated with the utmost civility, which was the more grateful to them, as they were conscious how little it was deserved.

The winds and calms prevented our joining the bark till the 22d, when we found her deserted, and her decks covered with blood. From many circumstances, it appeared that the Spaniards had surprised and butchered the four English; and that afterwards they attempted to reach the land, though it was four leagues distant. It is probable, however, that vengeance speedily overtook them, and that they all perished in the sea.

This tragical event damped the pleasure we enjoyed from the late capture, and our prisoners, seeing what had taken place, began to be alarmed, and to fear that they should be the victims of our revenge. To prevent any desperate resolution in consequence of this terror, I ordered them all into the stern gallery, except the nobleman and some of the chief officers, and gave them to understand, that the laws of my country forbade my indulging revenge; and that, besides, I had a natural abhorrence to barbarity of any kind. I therefore desired they would dismiss all fears of retaliation. They seemed affected by
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this generous treatment, and expressed the sense they entertained of our goodness, for which they should never be able to make an adequate return.

We took out of the Conception a year's provision of bread, flour, and sugar; and a like proportion for the Success, which I expected to find at Tres Marias. I also took possession of the launch and the negroes, and then returned the ship to the prisoners, with whom we parted on terms of peculiar friendship.

This put an end to our idea of surrendering ourselves, and made us determine on our voyage to the Indies. Our strength was now considerably increased; but yet we thought it unadvisable to put ourselves in the way of danger; and therefore, instead of watering at Quibio, we steered for the Isle of Cano. In our passage thither, the preserves being divided among the crew, one of the sailors complained that he had a box of marmalade, into which he could not stick his knife, and desired it might be changed. On examination, I found it to be a cake of virgin silver, moulded in that form, to defraud the King of Spain of his fifths. Several other boxes were discovered to be filled in a similar manner. We had the mortification, however, to reflect, that we had left a considerable quantity of these boxes behind us.

Every article taken in the Conception was divided according to the stipulations entered into before we left Juan Fernandez. My share of course was very limited. I had some difficulty in prevailing on the crew to run so far northward as California; but my arguments at last prevailed; and we had a favourable voyage to Cape
Corientes,

Corientes, with which we fell in about the beginning of August.

As soon as the inhabitants discovered us, they made fires all along the shore; and towards evening, it falling calm, two of them came off to us in a bark log; but stood many entreaties before they would venture on board. They talked with great vehemence, the purport of which we conceived to be, that they were glad to see us. At their departure, we made a few presents, which so pleased them, that they gave us an invitation, by signs, to go on shore with them.

On the 13th we anchored at Porto Seguro, where we were instantly surrounded by crowds of the natives, some in bark logs, some swimming, and many more on the shore. Our ship was presently filled with naked savages, and among the rest was their king, who surrendered his baton, or ensign of royalty, which I immediately returned. This personage, notwithstanding the wildness of his appearance, had a good countenance, and his behaviour had something engaging in it.

We liberally distributed sweatmeats among our guests, which they relished extremely; and a friendship being thus begun, we found it for our interest to preserve it from violation. By kindness and encouragement, we brought the natives voluntarily to render us the most essential services in wooding and watering. Three hundred, at once, were sometimes engaged in assisting us.

In the space of five days, with such numerous auxiliaries, we had accomplished our business, and were ready to depart. At taking leave of our Californian friends, we made an ample distribution

tribution of such dainties and presents as we could spare; and received, in return, bows and arrows, and what they had to dispose of. Many of the natives staid on board till the very last moment; and when we were under way, they swam ashore and joined the lamentations of their countrymen for our loss.

Nothing can be more wild and savage than the appearance of these people at first sight; but they improve on acquaintance; and in their intercourse with each other, they seem to possess great good nature. Having no other object to pursue, but to procure their daily sustenance, they lead an indolent and careless life; and are strangers to those numerous gratifications, the want of which only multiplies distresses among nations that are civilized and refined. Contented and honest, they seem to realize the ideas we entertain of the purest ages, before discord and avarice were known among men.

Two things were very remarkable in their conduct: they would neither suffer us to take snuff, nor to look through a glass in their presence. In these instances they always shewed a disposition to control us, the cause of which we could never learn.

On leaving this place, our next destination was Canton in China, as the most likely place to meet with English homeward-bound ships. On the 21st of August, we discovered an island, to which the crew gave my name. In a fortnight after the commencement of our voyage, the company, who had hitherto enjoyed good health, began to grow sickly. Perhaps this may in some measure be ascribed to the nature of their food, particularly to the dried beef, which was half devoured by
ants,

ants, cock roaches and other vermin; the eggs and excrements of which must infallibly have a deleterious effect.

About this time, too, we had the misfortune to lose our armorer, to whose ingenuity and prompt assistance, we were so much indebted for our deliverance from Juan Fernandez. The crew became daily more sickly, and to augment our distresses, the ship proved leaky. Involved in these calamities, the weather was also unpropitious, and the ship laboured much. I likewise fell violently ill, and had no hope of a recovery, till a fit of the gout gave me some relief.

Thus circumstanced, we passed Guam about the beginning of October; but, though oppressed with sickness, and in want of almost every accommodation, we were afraid to venture in, lest the inhabitants should take advantage of our reduced and feeble state. From Guam we directed our course for the island of Formosa. And now, though we were approaching fast to the place of our destination, yet sickness was making such rapid advances, that we dreaded the final event. Neither ourselves nor our ship were any longer fit for sea.

It was the middle of November, however, before we could reach Macao, where we arrived under pilotage of a fisherman whom we met with on the coast; and who, counting out so many fishes from his basket, gave us to understand, that for as many pieces of silver he would bring us into port.

On entering the river of Canton, we found the Bonita and Hastings, two English coasting ships, to the captains of which I dispatched a messenger, desiring to know how I was to conduct myself

self in this part of the world ; being ignorant of the Chinese port customs. These gentlemen advised me to transmit an account of my arrival to the factory at Canton, with the reasons which induced me to put in here ; which I accordingly did next day.

And now I hoped to have some repose from my long and various fatigues ; but the evening we anchored at Wampoa, an incident happened which gave me much trouble. One of my men, being in haste to remove his effects on board the Bonito, was stopped by a hoppo, or custom-house officer, who wanted to make a search. The fellow, being intoxicated, and fearing lest his property should be wrested from him, fired at and killed the officer. Early next morning, the corpse was laid at the door of one of the English factories ; and officers were stationed to seize the first Englishman of consequence that made his appearance. It happened that the supercargo of the Bonito first came out : him they put in chains, and led him, by way of example, about the suburbs of Canton.

No interest, no importunity, could procure the release of this innocent and unfortunate gentleman, till the aggressor was delivered up. All was then quiet on this score.

It is usual here, to exact a certain sum of money for all foreign vessels, according to their tonnage, and every day I expected the hoppo to measure my ship ; but I was given to understand that I must proceed to Canton before that business could be performed. Thither I went, and after a stay of two days, during which I was under the constant dread of being confined, I found the officer ready to accompany me to execute his measurement.

ment. Having taken the dimensions, I expected to hear what the demand was, but the hoppo declined to give any answer. This began to give me a suspicion, that the Chinese, from a false idea of our great riches, intended to impose on us; and the event shewed that I was not mistaken.

In a few days, I found myself deserted by all my officers and ship's company; who, during my confinement by illness, had, unknown to me, transported their property on board other ships lying in the river. In short, I was left with my son, and a few negroes, to look after the ship; and I found myself treated almost as an enemy by my own countrymen. Over my late crew I found it vain to attempt to exercise any control. I had therefore only to take the best care of myself that the circumstances in which I was involved would permit.

Having turned my thoughts to the obtaining of a passage homewards, I applied to the captains of two English East Indiamen, and was given to understand, that one of them would be ready to receive me as soon as I pleased. But I soon discovered that I had treated with the wrong persons; and that I should have addressed myself to the supercargoes, and not to the captains. Pending this negotiation, I was obliged to pay six thousand tael for anchorage; and to quicken the discharge of this exorbitant demand, five hundred taels were imposed for every day's default. The whole sum amounted to two thousand one hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence, from which I could procure no abatement. I sold my ship for two thousand taels, which money, and the rest of my effects, I con-

signed to the East India Company, a form indispensably requisite to give security.

Thus having undergone many difficulties here, where I expected to have found none, I at last went on board the *Cadogan*, Captain Hill, about the end of December. This ship proving in but indifferent trim, the captain put into Batavia, where we continued ten days; and hearing that the neighbouring seas swarmed with pirates, we joined the homeward-bound Dutch fleet. The commodore promised to assist us in wooding and watering at Mew Island; but on our joining Captain Newsham in the *Frances*, in the Straights of Sunda, the Dutch made it a pretence for leaving us; and the same evening the *Frances* deserted us likewise.

We reached Mew Island, however, where we continued several days; during which space we carried on a traffic with the natives of Prince's Island for turtle and fruits. Some of the people having discovered wild cattle grazing near the strand, went on shore to kill them; but before they advanced sufficiently near, they were terrified at the sight of a tiger, and returned without effecting their purpose.

From Mew Island we had a favourable and pleasant passage to the Cape of Good Hope. By the good conduct of Captain Hill, and his superior skill in navigation, we reached the Cape before the *Frances*, though she had left the Straights of Sunda a week before us.

Nothing of importance presented itself during the remainder of our voyage. We touched at St. Helena; and sailing from thence direct for England, anchored under Dungeness on the 30th of July; and the same night, some of the super-
cargoes

cargoes and passengers, with myself, hired a vessel to carry us to Dover, where we arrived next morning; and on the 1st of August reached London. Thus terminated a long and disastrous voyage, of three years, seven months, and some days over; in the course of which we sailed very considerably more than round the globe, and encountered a variety of dangers both at sea and on shore.

How the owners must have been disappointed, in their hopes of a golden harvest, we may easily conceive. But their impolicy deserved no better fortune, in joining two men in the command, who it was impossible could act cordially together. Shelvock seems to have been by far the most able navigator; but in his resentment for the slight he received, he appears to have been implacable; and though he studiously retorts on Clipperton every charge that can dishonour the man or the officer, we are led, from an impartial consideration of their discordant statements, to ascribe blame to both.

carrying and passengers, with night, blind a very
tel to carry us to Boston, where we arrived at
noon; and on the 14th August reached London.
I was entertained a long and pleasant
journey of three years, seven months, and some
days; in the course of which we sailed very
carefully, more than round the globe, and en-
countered a variety of dangers both at sea and on
shore.

How the owners were disappointed
in their hopes of a golden journey, we may easily
observe. But both parties believed no further
fortune in joining two ships in the command
who it was supposed could accordingly together
achieve to have been by the first sailing
navigation; but in due season for the night
the vessel, he appears to have been misplaced
and though he had only seven on shipboard
every change that can distinguish the man of the
ocean, we are led from an imperial consideration
that of their discordant intentions, to describe
blame to both.

The vessel was a small one, and the crew
was not very numerous. The captain was a
man of a very high rank, and the crew
was composed of men of a very high rank.
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man of a very high rank, and the crew
was composed of men of a very high rank.

VOYAGE
1713

VOYAGE OF
COMMODORE ROGGEWEIN,
FOR THE
DISCOVERY
OF A
SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

THE *Terra Australis Incognita* was long an illusion, which the superior penetration of our immortal navigator, Cook, at last dissipated.

About the close of the seventeenth century, Mr. Roggewein, a gentleman of Zealand, projected the discovery of the vast continent, and the numerous islands, supposed to lie in the bosom of the Southern Ocean; and having presented his plan to the Dutch West India Company, was assured of their zealous co-operation. His death, however, prevented him from undertaking the expedition himself; but, with his last breath, he recommended it to his son.

The young gentleman, having filled an honourable and lucrative post in the East Indies, returned with an ample fortune; and in the year 1721, presenting a memorial to the Dutch West India Company, they gave immediate directions to furnish him with three vessels, to prosecute his father's original scheme.

His

His squadron consisted of the *Eagle*, of thirty-six guns and one hundred and eleven men, commanded by Job Coster, on board of which embarked the commodore; the *Tienhoven*, of twenty-eight guns and one hundred men, commanded by Captain James Bowman; and the African galley, of fourteen guns and sixty men, commanded by Captain Henry Rosenthal.

This squadron left the Texel on the 21st of August 1721, and after experiencing a variety of weather, while they were in expectation of seeing the Canaries, the man at the mast head cried out, a sail! On approaching nearer, five vessels were descried, in company, which sometimes carried white, sometimes black, and at last red colours.

The commodore, rightly conjecturing these were pirates, made the signal for a line of battle, in which they were fortunate enough to have the weathergage. The pirates, however, advanced under the black flag, with the death's head in the centre; and, for two hours, the action was kept up with great briskness on both sides. At last, these marauders finding the Dutch too powerful for them, spread all their canvases, and bore away from the engagement; nor were the Dutch inclined to pursue.

In this conflict the squadron had eleven men killed, and thirty-five wounded.

Having repaired their damage, they continued their voyage, and on the 15th of November had a beautiful prospect of the Island of Madeira. From this island they continued steering for Cape Verd; but having the advantage of a strong north-east wind, they did not come to anchor, or handle a sail for six weeks. In this long passage,
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the heat was almost intolerable; and they began to suffer excessively, from that greatest of all human wants, the scarcity of water.

As they approached the line, the winds became variable, and the crew began to fall thick with the scurvy, and other alarming disorders, the symptoms of which were exacerbated by thirst. Some, indeed, became quite distracted, others fell into high fevers, and not a few were convulsed. Their salt provisions only served to increase their drought; and the small quantity of water they had remaining was so full of worms, that it was almost death to drink it.

In these latitudes, they frequently observed, towards evening, that the sea appeared as if covered with flaming brimstone. On taking up some of the water, it was found to be full of an infinite number of small globules, of the size, form, and colour of pearls, which, on being pressed between the fingers, proved to be nothing more than an earthy, fat substance, probably the grosser part of the salts in the water, concreted by the excessive heat of the sun.

At length they passed the line, and falling in with the monsoon, were carried at a great rate towards the coast of Brasil. As they approached this, they passed some uninhabited islands, and afterwards anchored at Porto, in latitude 24 degrees south. Some of the ship's company immediately prepared to land to obtain supplies; but at first, a body of Portuguese, well-armed, seemed ready to oppose them. Coming, however, to an explanation, the Portuguese were at last prevailed on to relinquish hostilities, and to conduct the vessels into port.

On

On entering the Harbour of Porto, the sailors began to recover very fast, and having taken in necessaries, they quickly proceeded to St. Sebastian. As they were about to enter the road, a storm arose, which compelled them to drop anchor. Next day, they saluted the fort; but the Portuguese, either not being prepared to return the compliment, or taking the Dutch for pirates, omitted to notice them.

The commodore, however, having explained his views and wishes to the governor, received a kind of evasive answer. But as good fortune would have it, one Father Thomas, a native of Utrecht, hearing of the arrival of his countrymen, was so delighted, that he immediately came on board, and promised the interest of his order to obtain the necessary refreshments.

Meanwhile the Portuguese were in motion along the coast, to repel any attempt at landing, and a skirmish took place. The commodore, seeing that amicable overtures were not listened to, prepared for attacking the place; and stationed his ships accordingly. This, however, was done more with a view of terrifying the inhabitants into civility, than of proceeding to extremities.

The effect answered the expectation of the Dutch. The Portuguese governor now came on board, and entered into a treaty, by which all was gained that the commodore desired. The sick were permitted to land, and supplied with refreshments; and though all kinds of commerce were prohibited between the Dutch and the inhabitants, under the severest penalties, a clandestine exchange of commodities took place, and was carried on to mutual satisfaction.

But

But though the Portuguese inhabitants had no objection to their visitors, it was otherwise with respect to the governor; who, having learned the nature of their voyage, practised every artifice to delay and distress them. The commodore, penetrating into his views and motives, dissembled his chagrin; and assiduously employed his men in getting on board provisions and supplies of every kind, which having effected, he obtained a certificate of his honourable conduct from the Portuguese, and then took his leave.

The squadron, having left the coast of Brasil, successfully prosecuted its voyage along the American shore, till it reached the latitude of 40 deg. south. This was on the 21st of December, when a violent hurricane, attended with thunder and lightning, overtook them, and separated them from the Tienhoven, which did not rejoin till three months after.

The commodore and the African galley now continued their course till they were in the height of the Straights of Magellan, where they discovered an island, about two hundred leagues in circumference, about eighty leagues from the continent. To this they gave the name of *Belgia Australis*; because its inhabitants would be antipodes to those of the Low Countries. The land appeared extremely beautiful, and chequered with hills and vales; but being unwilling to lose time, or impede their chance of doubling Cape Horn, they did not think it advisable to go on shore.

At length arriving in 55 degrees south latitude, they began to imagine they could not be far from the opening of the Straights of La Maire; and immediately after, Staten Land opened to
their

their view. Here the fury of the waves and the clashing of contending currents exposed them to great danger and anxiety. For a long time they laboured in these stormy seas, at intervals doubtful of their situation; however, on the 10th of March, to their great joy, they discovered the coast of Chili, and soon after anchored at the Island of Mocha.

Here they hoped to find refreshments; but to their surprise, they found the island deserted, and that the inhabitants had transported themselves to the continent. Having taken in such supplies as the place afforded, they resolved to put to sea without delay; and perceiving the Spaniards every where on their guard, they steered to the Island of Juan Fernandez.

As they were about to enter the bay, they were alarmed at the sight of a ship, which fear magnified into a Spanish or French man of war; but, to their infinite satisfaction, on a nearer approach, they found she was no other than their consort, the Tienhoven, which had been previously separated from them.

The ships being brought to an anchor, the sick were immediately landed; and the rest were employed in searching for provisions and refreshments. The beauty and fertility of this island, and its advantageous situation, inclined the commodore to settle a colony; but he suspended his design in hopes of touching here on his return.

On leaving Juan Fernandez, the commodore proposed to visit a southern continent, said to be discovered by Davis in 1680; but after sailing to the latitude of 28 deg. south, longitude 251, where he expected to find the land, he had the mortification to miss it; and, indeed, no modern voyager
has

has been able to discover what has commonly been inserted in maps as Davis's Land.

Having sailed 12 deg. west, accompanied by flocks of birds, a certain indication of land, they arrived on the coast of a small island, which they named Pasch, or Easter Island. A party sent to reconnoitre, reported, that the country appeared very fertile, and well inhabited; which intelligence diffused a general joy. Next day an Indian coming off to them, was well entertained, and presented with various articles of dress and curiosity, to induce others to visit them. But when they expected he would have left them, he shewed signs of the most poignant regret, and with difficulty was got into his canoe.

Early next morning, they entered a gulph on the south-east side of the island, where numbers of the natives met them, bringing plenty of fowls and roots. At the same time they lighted fires and offered sacrifices to their idols, abundance of which were placed on the shore. Their first visiter returned, bringing numbers of his countrymen; among the rest, a person perfectly white, who seemed to be one of their priests.

While matters were going on in the most friendly train, one of the Indians was accidentally shot dead by a musket, which threw the rest into such consternation and dismay, that they hastened to the shore. The Dutch soon after following them, about one hundred and fifty landed; and mistaking the simple curiosity of the natives for an intention of committing hostilities, they cruelly fired among them, by which many of these innocent people were killed, and among the rest the poor Indian who had been twice on board.

The islanders now presented themselves with all the signs of peace, and, by the humblest demeanour, seemed solicitous to mollify the invaders. The Dutch, affected by their submission, appeared to be reconciled; and the natives, forgetting the past, supplied them, in the most liberal manner, with fowls and fruits. The Dutch saw no quadrupeds here; and on shewing the Indians some hogs on board, they informed them, by signs, that they were unacquainted with such animals.

It is remarkable, that these islanders did not seem to have any arms among them, which renders the wanton cruelty of the Dutch the more inexcusable. When attacked, they fled for shelter and assistance to their idols, which were all of stone, bearing the figure of a man with large ears, and a crown on their heads. These were so ingeniously sculptured, that the Europeans stood amazed at the sight. A perfect equality seemed to reign among these people: each seemed to speak and act with unbounded freedom. However, the aged appeared to have a considerable influence, and were distinguished by wearing bonnets of plumes.

It was determined next day to make a more accurate examination of this island; but a storm arising, drove them from their anchors, and they were obliged to put to sea, to prevent being wrecked. They afterwards touched at the island which Schouten named Badwater; and then sailed upwards of eight hundred leagues without coming in sight of any land. At last, in latitude 15 deg. 30 min. south, they fell in with a low barren island, to which they gave the name of Carlshoff. Departing from this, they became
entangled

entangled, in the night, among several small islands; and the African galley stuck fast on the rocks. In the morning they had an alarming prospect of the danger they had all been in; and it was some days before the commodore could extricate himself from this unfortunate situation.

On mustering the crew of the African galley, which was totally lost, it was found that the quarter-master and four seamen were missing. On enquiry it was discovered, that these people preferred remaining where they were; and though the commodore endeavoured to recover them, they were deaf to all entreaties; and, in consequence, were left to their fate.

These were denominated the Mischievous Islands, from the loss which had been sustained among them. They all appeared covered with verdure, and thick planted with trees of uncommon beauty. The inhabitants were of an extraordinary size, and were armed with pikes or lances about twenty feet long.

Roggewein, perceiving that these Indians were not very tractable, and that the coast was foul and rocky, resolved to pursue his voyage. Next morning they discovered an island, which they named Aurora; and had they approached it only half an hour earlier, the Tienhoven must have been dashed on its coasts. This alarmed the mariners on board that ship to such a degree, that a mutiny was the consequence. Seeing what a narrow escape they had met with, they insisted on stipulations being made for the payment of their wages in full, even should the ship be lost. The commodore listened to their representations with the humanity worthy of a man of honour;

and immediately swore to discharge all arrears of wages, whatever might happen to the ships.

Towards evening, they came in sight of another island, which they called Vesper. It appeared to be about twelve leagues in circumference; and was every where covered with herbage and trees.

Continuing their course, they fell in with a multitude of small islands, from which they with difficulty extricated themselves. These were situated about twenty-five leagues from Mischievous Islands, and obtained the appellation of the Labyrinth.

In a few days, pursuing a western course, they discovered another island, which, at a distance, appeared very high and extremely beautiful; but on a nearer approach they found the coast rocky, and no ground for anchorage. However, they determined to land; and having reconciled the natives by some few presents, they brought off a quantity of vegetables for the use of both ships.

Next morning a larger body of men was ordered on shore, as well to gather herbs as to make farther discoveries. They first presented the king, or chief, with a considerable quantity of trinkets, which he received in no very gracious manner; however, in return he sent the Dutch a quantity of cocoa nuts, than which nothing could have been more acceptable.

The women here shewed an indecent attachment to the Europeans; but this soon appeared to be an artifice to lull them into security; for when the natives thought they had got the invaders in their power, they rushed out from caves and clefts of the rocks, and assaulted them with a
prodigious

prodigious shower of stones. The Dutch immediately formed, and discharged a volley of fire-arms, which did great execution; and the chief was among the first who fell. The Indians, however, pressed on, and forced them to retreat to their ships with some loss. Such was the resolution and intrepidity of the natives, that when a motion was made for landing again, not a man on board offered to be of the party.

This island lies in 16 deg. south latitude, and 285 west longitude. It appeared to be fertile, and there was reason to suppose it was not destitute of rich mines. But as the natives were so daring and treacherous, and anchorage was bad, the commodore resolved to sail without exploring it farther.

Before his departure he communicated his instructions to his officers, from which it appeared, that if he did not make some important discovery near the latitude and longitude they were in, they should return home. Some of the council hinted, that it would shew pusillanimity to abandon their enterprize so soon; but the commodore silenced them by stating, that they had still a voyage to the East Indies to accomplish, and that their provisions already began to grow short, and their crews to be diminished.

On canvassing the business farther, it was ultimately resolved to continue their voyage to New Britain, and thence by the Moluccas to the East Indies, where they might not only procure a supply of provisions, but also a reinforcement of men, should it be requisite.

Three days after, they proceeded on this new route, and fell in with several beautiful islands in latitude 12 deg. longitude 290; and found
N 3 them

them populous and well cultivated. The inhabitants were very sociable and friendly, and had nothing in their behaviour that was wild or savage. To these enchanting isles, where they were received with much cordiality, the Dutch gave the appellation of Bowman's Islands, from the captain of the Tienhoven, who first discovered them.

Many of the Dutch were desirous of making some stay among a people so mild, and in a country so fine, to allow the sick to recover; and as anchorage was good all along the coast, perhaps, the commodore was culpable in not attending to their suggestions. But fearful of missing the easterly monsoon, he could not be prevailed on to delay his voyage.

Weighing, therefore, from Bowman's Islands, they soon fell in with others, which they conjectured, from their situation, were those of Cocoas and Traitors, so named by Schouten. They soon after saw two other islands of large extent, to which they gave the names of Tienhoven and Groningen, which being very long, and presenting an extensive coast, were supposed by some to constitute a part of the *Terra Australis Incognita*.

Solely intent now on their voyage to the East, the officers were unwilling to stop here, though the majority of their crews were anxious to make a descent, and to explore the coast. It was now believed they would soon come in sight of New Britain; but they sailed many days without making any land. Meanwhile the scurvy was making the most alarming progress among them; and so many hands were lost, that it was in contemplation to burn one ship, and transfer the crew on board the other. Nothing was to be
seen

seen or heard but misery and lamentations; for even those who were in any degree capable of duty, were reduced to mere skeletons. Disease, in its most alarming forms, had subdued the greatest part; and had they not, at this period, discovered New Britain, it is probable that none could have long survived.

As soon as they approached the coast, the Dutch resolved, at all hazards, to go on shore. So great were their distresses, that prudent caution was not once regarded, when put in the balance with the relief they expected to find on land.

Accordingly, the shallop was manned, and provided with a great quantity of trifles by way of presents. The natives began to collect in crowds, well armed, and shewed, by their gestures, that they meditated opposition. A shower of javelins soon assailed the Dutch, who, knowing that force was their only security, fired incessantly; and having killed many of the natives, put the rest to flight.

While thus engaged, a violent storm arose, which driving the ships out to sea, left the miserable party in the shallop without relief, and almost destitute of hope. Their vessel was dashed on a sand bank, while the crew catching resolution from despair, dragged her to land, and thus their retreat was cut off till the storm should abate.

Night coming on, they knew not where to secure themselves: every gale brought the yells of the natives, who had retired to the woods; and every instant they expected an attack. Soon after midnight, however, they heard the signal from the ships; and flying to their boat, they got safe on board.

On leaving this island, the Dutch resolved to land on the next they came to, preferring death on shore, to lingering at sea in such a deplorable condition. Thus situated, they soon discovered the Isle of Moa, and found the natives, as they approached, even the women and children, armed with bows and arrows. They, however, brought with them cocoa nuts, Indian figs, and various kinds of roots, which they exchanged without the least sign of fear or mistrust. The Dutch received them, as their deliverers, in the most cordial manner; which induced them to return next day with more ample supplies. Among the rest they brought three dogs; but reduced as they were, the Dutch would not taste such an unusual food.

The refreshments procured here were so beneficial, that could the crew have obtained leave to remain a few days longer, it would have been attended with the most salutary consequences. The islanders did all in their power to persuade them; but so extremely weakened was the ship's company by death and illness, that it was judged too hazardous to trust themselves among a people so numerous; and who were, with all their civilities, suspected of some latent design.

They, therefore, began to make the necessary preparations for continuing their voyage, when the islanders, probably, to prevent the strangers from making another descent, voluntarily brought them two hundred loaded canoes of different kinds of provisions, which they exchanged for various merchandise.

The exchange being over, they parted amicably, and steered their course along the shore of New Guinea, by an innumerable cluster of small islands,

islands, extending to the Island of Gilolo. This passage they effected with the utmost peril ; and to their inexpressible joy, soon saw the Island of Bouro, where the Dutch East India Company maintain a factory. Without landing here, they continued their course, in hopes of reaching the coast of Bouton, and refreshing there. By some mistake they overshot that island ; and now they had no other alternative but to proceed to Java ; for wherever the ship anchored, they well knew they would be confiscated, in consequence of invariable orders and maxims, which the Dutch East India Company inviolably observe. All the men, however, particularly the sick, cast a languishing eye on that fertile country they left behind them ; while their minds presaged the melancholy effects that must attend a step so inconsiderate and pernicious.

The commodore having left the coast of Bouton, and passed through the channel of the Moluccas, arrived on the coast of Java, and anchored in the Road of Japatra, towards the close of September 1722. He immediately waited on the company's resident, who was named Kuster, and informed him of the necessity which had driven him thither. This gentleman kindly commiserated the misfortunes of Roggewein and his crew ; and, indeed, they were real objects of compassion. They had lost no less than seventy men, exclusive of those who were killed in skirmishes with the Indians. Twenty-six of the survivors were extremely ill ; and not more than ten persons remained in the enjoyment of tolerable health.

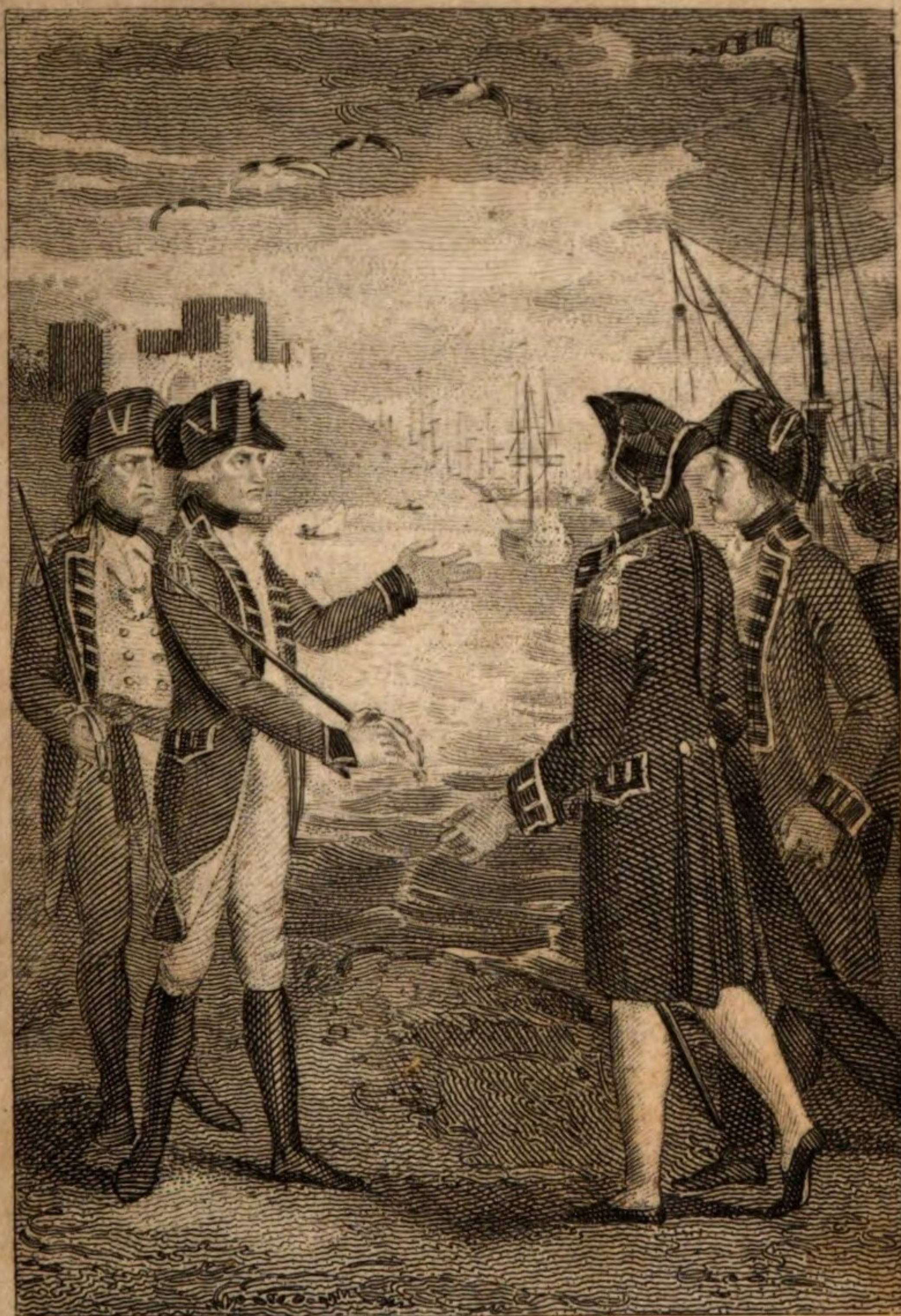
The sick were quickly landed ; but so much were they reduced, that many of them paid the
debt

debt of nature soon after they reached the shore. Mr. Kuster transmitted an account of their arrival to the governor general; and while they waited for his answer and the recovery of the sick, they passed their time in a very agreeable manner, and began to forget the former miseries they had endured. Falling in with the dissipation of the place, they gave a loose to intemperance and debauchery; and, as if they were drenched in the stream of oblivion, their former vows and protestations of a new and a regular life were totally lost.

After refreshing themselves at Japatra for about a month, they began to think of continuing their voyage to Batavia, where the governor general seemed disposed to treat them with kindness and indulgence. With a sensible regret, however, they took leave of their friends at Japatra; and carried with them the remembrance of the many favours they had experienced there.

On entering the Road of Batavia, the commodore saluted the fort, and anchored his ships close to those which were lading for the voyage home. They now flattered themselves that all their pains were over, and that they should speedily proceed to their native land. But in this they were egregiously disappointed. As the commodore was about to wait on the governor, some officers arrived, and proclaimed the sentence of confiscation. Both ships were, by this time, so blocked up, that it was impossible they could escape, and not long after, both ships and companies were secured.

Roggewein, taught by fell experience, began to repent of his temerity in returning by the way of the East Indies; but repentance was now too late,



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*The Confiscation of Roggeweins Ships
announced to him on landing at Batavia.*

Publish'd Dec: 10. 1796. by E. Newbery St Pauls Church Yard.

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late. He had neglected the advice which had been given him, and he found that neglect punished by an arbitrary sentence, declaring the ships good prizes. Every thing on board was immediately put up to public sale; while the crews were divided, and distributed among several homeward-bound East Indiamen.

Finding it impossible to obtain any redress here, the commodore was obliged to prosecute his voyage home in one of the company's ships. During his passage, they encountered a dreadful storm on the eastern coast of Africa, in which they had a narrow escape from shipwreck. At the Cape of Good Hope, they found a great number of English and French, as well as Dutch, ships.

Towards the end of March 1723, the ships being re-victualled and ready to sail, were wafted from the Bay with a brisk gale, and arrived at the Island of St. Helena, in the space of three weeks. On their approaching the island, the commodore of the fleet detached two ships to discover if there were any corsairs on the coast, having a little before fallen in with one, which made him conjecture they might be in force about these latitudes.

After refreshing at St. Helena, they sailed for Ascension, chiefly on account of the turtle, which is generally to be found here in great abundance. On leaving this island, they found the heat much more moderate than they could have expected; for, as the sun was turning towards the south, they enjoyed pretty brisk gales, which refreshed the air. As they approached the line, they began to see the north star, which had been hid from them for many months; and it is scarcely to be conceived, how much this natural incident rejoiced the sailors. It gave them the welcome foretaste
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of home ; and the idea of home always presses with greater force on the mind as distance lessens, and objects that are familiar, serve to recal past enjoyments, or anticipate future delights.

As they advanced to the northward, they were overtaken by hard gales of wind, which drove them within sight of the Azores. Their fresh provisions being now pretty far spent, this deviation from their intended course gave them an opportunity of recruiting at Flores, where they staid three days.

Sailing round the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, they at last came in sight of the Orkneys, and soon after fell in with a squadron of men of war, waiting to convoy them home. They arrived in the Texel on the 11th of July 1723.

On the return of Commodore Roggewein to his native country, and his representations to the West India Company, they immediately commenced a suit, to obtain satisfaction for the injury done them by the East India Company ; while the East India Directors justified the proceedings of the governor general. The affair, at length, being brought to an issue, their High Mightinesses the States General decreed, that the East India Company should make restitution, and indemnify the adventurers for all losses sustained through their injustice. This decision seems to have been founded in equity and reason ; and the case that gave rise to it proves, how prone men are, in high official stations, at a distance from home, to abuse their power, and act the tyrants.

With regard to Roggewein's discoveries, they were not unimportant ; though he failed in the principal object of his expedition. But how
could

could he succeed, when this object was a non-entity? A Southern Continent, however, continued for half a century more to amuse the theorist, and stimulate the adventurer. The present race of men have the satisfaction of knowing the real limits of the terraqueous globe, and probably all its constituent parts. This knowledge reflects honour on the age; but falls with a double lustre on those who unlocked its sources, and opened its channels.

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THE HISTORY OF THE

VOYAGE OF
COMMODORE ANSON,
ROUND THE WORLD.

GEORGE ANSON was descended from an ancient and honourable family in Staffordshire. He was born on the 23d of April 1697; and having early devoted himself to the naval service of his country, went through the subordinate stations with applause; and in due time was promoted to the command of a man of war. In this capacity, being distinguished for courage and conduct, he was appointed commodore of the celebrated expedition we are about to relate; and after his return was raised progressively to the highest rank in his profession; was deservedly honoured with a peerage, and, for some years, presided as first commissioner of the board of admiralty. His public services were various and important: the last in which he was engaged, was the conveyance of her present Majesty to England, in 1761. On the 6th of July, 1762, he paid the debt of nature, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, more full of honour than of days.

This short notice of a man so eminent and so useful, cannot fail to be acceptable to those who read his voyage.

Towards the close of the year 1739, a war with Spain appearing inevitable, government wisely conceived

conceived, that the most effectual step it could take to distress the enemy, was to attack them in their distant settlements, and thus cut off their supplies of money, which are the principal sinews of war.

This plan, so politic, and to appearance so easily practicable, suffered various delays; and at last was carried into execution on a contracted scale, and with inadequate force. George Anson, esq. then captain of the *Centurion*, was originally intended to have the command of a squadron; but his destination was altered from Manilla to the South Seas; and, after the lapse of ten months from his first appointment, notwithstanding all his endeavours, he found his fleet very indifferently manned; while his land force consisted only of five hundred men, selected from the most aged and infirm of the out-pensioners of Chelsea College, and from raw and undisciplined marines.

The length of time that had elapsed, since the expedition was first projected, had given the enemy an opportunity of being prepared to counteract its intentions; the manner in which it was finally equipped seemed to frustrate any expectations of advantage to be derived from its exertions; and to this add, the season of the year was now the most unfavourable for such a distant and dangerous navigation.

The commodore, however, though he might be chagrined, was not dispirited. On the 18th of September 1740, he set sail from St. Helen's; and though the wind was contrary when he weighed, he cleared the Channel in four days. The squadron under his command, consisted of the *Centurion* of sixty guns, and four hundred men, George Anson, esq. commander and commodore; the

the Gloucester of fifty guns, and three hundred men, commanded by Captain Norris; the Severn of fifty guns, and three hundred men, commanded by the Honourable Captain Legg; the Pearl of forty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Captain Mitchel; the Wager of twenty eight guns, and one hundred and sixty, men commanded by Captain Kidd; and the Tryal Sloop of eight guns, and one hundred men, commanded by the Honourable Captain Murray. Two victuallers, one of four hundred and the other of two hundred tons, attended them.

Not only the winds were contrary, but the progress of the squadron was impeded by the care of a convoy to a certain latitude; and, in consequence, the passage to Madeira took up no less a space than thirty-seven days, though it is frequently performed in a third part of the time.

Madeira is well known to be a fine and salubrious climate, and to produce a species of wine of the highest value and repute, which improves by heat; and therefore seems designed by Providence to solace the inhabitants of the torrid zone.

The only town of importance or commerce, is Fonchiale, which stands on the south part of the island, at the bottom of a large bay. Towards the sea it is well defended, both by nature and art: a violent surf continually beats on the beach; and much danger attends those who are unacquainted with the navigation.

Here the commodore remained about a week, taking in water, wine, and other refreshments. On account of ill health, the captain of the Gloucester solicited, and obtained leave, to relinquish his command; and some changes and pro-

motions of consequence took place throughout the squadron.

While Mr. Anson lay at Madeira, he was informed by the governor, that, a few days before his arrival, seven or eight ships, supposed to be Spaniards, had appeared to the westward of that island. On this intelligence, a sloop was dispatched in the track they had been observed, to procure more certain information: but the officer, to whom this service had been delegated, returned without making any farther discovery. The commodore immediately suspected, that those ships were intended to watch his motions, and traverse his projects; and subsequent events proved, that his apprehensions were right. The dreadful catastrophe attending the Spanish Armament, as it was not effected by our force, shall be separately narrated, at the conclusion of this voyage. The distresses of Don Joseph Pizarro might serve as a counterpart to Byron's narrative.

Mr. Anson, on leaving Madeira, gave orders, that, in case of separation, the squadron should rendezvous at the Island of St. Catharine, on the coast of Brasil. During this long run, the weather was variable, and the trade winds were found considerably different from the journals of former navigators. The crews became sickly in the extreme, and notwithstanding the precaution of admitting fresh air between the decks, by means of scuttles, many died. The general disorder was a species of fever, endemial in warm climates, and known by the appellation of a calenture. This malady is not only very severe, during its first attack; but frequently proves fatal after the patient appears in a convalescent state; and always leaves a languor which unnerves and depresses.

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The rage of this disorder was daily felt with increasing force; nor could any abatement of its violence be hoped for at sea. It was therefore with the most lively joy, that they discovered the coast of Brasil, about the middle of December, and in two days after, came to anchor off the island of St. Catharine.

The passage between the island and the main being guarded by two forts, the commodore had the concern to see, that colours were hoisted and signal guns fired, which convinced him that his squadron had alarmed the coast. To do away, as soon as possible, the ill-founded apprehensions of an enemy being in view, he sent an officer on shore to pay his compliments to the governor, and to request a pilot to conduct the vessels into the road. The request being readily granted, and civilities interchanged, the ships first anchored in a large commodious bay, on the continent, called Bon Port by the French navigators, and next day moored at St. Catharine's.

On first descrying the coast of Brasil, it appeared high and mountainous, stretching from west to west south-west. The Island of St. Catharine, where the ships lay, is about nine leagues long and two broad; and being flat, compared to the main land, is not perceptible at any considerable distance from the coast. Forests of perpetual verdure adorn this isle; but owing to the quantity of underwood, it forms almost an impenetrable thicket, except where the natives have cut a few narrow tracts to facilitate their communication. A few spots on the shore, facing the continent, are the only cultivated parts. But nature has been so luxuriant and bountiful, that the woods spontaneously produce many of the most delicious fruits;

fruits ; and the productions of almost every climate flourish here without the labour of cultivation. Aromatic trees and shrubs perfume the air. Pheasants are numerous ; as are wild cattle, resembling buffaloes ; and fish are found in great variety. The water, too, is most excellent ; and like that of the Thames, possesses the property of purifying itself, which renders it peculiarly valuable for long voyages.

Nature, however, always distributes her favours with a frugal hand. The advantages we have enumerated, are counterbalanced by many inconveniences. The free circulation of air is impeded by the woods and hills surrounding the harbour : the nights are lost in vapours, arising from too luxuriant a vegetation ; and the pleasures of the day are interrupted by swarms of musquittoes, whose sting is well known to be venomous. These small, though active enemies to human enjoyment, are succeeded by an infinite number of sand flies, which come abroad at eve, and which, though too minute to be readily perceived by the naked eye, are equally as harassing as the harvest bug, or red ascarus of England.

From this description, whatever charms this island may possess, to gratify the eye, it is plain it cannot be healthful ; and of this a melancholy proof was exhibited, by the death of twenty-eight persons on board the Centurion only ; and yet the sick-list was increased.

The first object that engaged the commodore's attention, on arriving at St. Catharine's, was the care of the sick. These were landed in considerable numbers ; but it has been already observed, that this situation was inimical to health. The next duty was to fumigate, cleanse, and wash the vessels ;

vessels; and to prepare them in the best manner that could be devised, for the tempestuous weather that was to be expected in doubling Cape Horn.

The form of government, and some recent regulations established here, presented many difficulties. Formerly the establishment at St. Catharine's was low; and the governor and natives were happy to exchange provisions for clothes, or other articles of common traffic. But since the discovery of the gold and diamond mines on the opposite coast, this settlement had risen in importance; and the value of money being decreased, the demands for necessaries were proportionally high.

The governor lived in a splendid still, and exacted as much as he pleased for the requisite refreshments. But this was not the worst part of his conduct: being engaged in an illicit traffic with the Spaniards, by which the sovereigns of both nations were defrauded of the customary fifth from the produce of the mines, to ingratiate himself still more with his confederates, he treacherously dispatched information to the commander of the Spanish expedition, who then lay in the river La Plata. We will not tire the reader with other instances of his artifice and chicanery.

Owing to some necessary repairs, a month was spent before the squadron was ready to put to sea. This being effected, the commodore gave out to the respective captains, the successive places of rendezvous from hence to China; and on the 18th of January, the expedition proceeded from the last amicable port it was intended to touch at, to encounter the danger of boisterous seas, and desert, inhospitable coasts.

In three days, a violent storm arose, attended with a fog, so thick, that the ships could not discover each other, at no more than double their lengths. Fortunately, however, next day at noon, it cleared up; when all the ships were in sight, except the Pearl, which did not join for a month. The Tryal, too, was driven a great way to leeward; and having lost her mainmast, and received other damage, the Gloucester was ordered to take her in tow.

On the 18th of February, a sail was espied; and the Severn and Gloucester were detached in pursuit. The commodore soon discovered it to be the missing Pearl; and having recalled the Severn, ordered the Gloucester to continue the chase. To the surprise, however, of the whole squadron, it was observed, that as the Gloucester approached, the Pearl crowded sail from her; and when at last, by dint of fleetness, she came up with her, it was seen that the Pearl was prepared for action.

Lieutenant Salt, who commanded this vessel, on his rejoining the squadron, informed the commodore, that he had, a few days before, fallen in with five Spanish men of war, which at first he mistook for the British fleet, and before he discovered his error, had nearly been captured; and only escaped at last by superior sailing. This was one of the many hair-breadth escapes which Anson and his squadron experienced in the course of the voyage.

The commodore now came to an anchor in the Bay of St. Julian; and finding an enemy of superior force in his vicinity, would have made a very short stay, had not the refitting of the Tryal compelled him to risque the event.

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The coast of Patagonia being still but little known, a brief description will be requisite. This country extends from the Spanish Settlements to the Straights of Magellan. To the north of the Plate River, the whole territory abounds in trees of great magnitude; while to the south of that river, few or none are to be seen for a space of twelve hundred miles.

But though the country be destitute of wood, it is in many places rich in pasturage; and feeds immense herds of black cattle, which, being first introduced by the Spaniards, have increased to a great degree, and are free for those who chuse to kill them. The hunters slaughter many thousands of them annually for the sake of their hides and tallow, while the flesh is left to putrify, or to feed the wild beasts and the birds.

Some of these cattle, however, are taken alive, and employed in agriculture. In this pursuit, the hunters shew almost incredible dexterity. Being mounted on horseback, they are provided with a thong several fathoms long, having a running noose at one end; this they hold in the right hand; and the rest of the thong being coiled up, and fastened to the saddle at the opposite end, they ride at a herd; and having selected their prey, throw the noose with such unerring aim, that they never fail to fix it about the horns. Another hunter then entangles the hind legs; and in this manner, with little variation, they catch horses, and even tigers.

The horses are likewise of Spanish origin; for America, before its discovery, possessed none of those useful animals. These are extremely wild, and though very fine, so numerous are they, that
the

the very best of them may be purchased in the neighbouring settlements for a dollar.

Throughout this whole country, there are also a considerable number of vicunnas, or Peruvian sheep; but being at once very shy and fleet, they are with difficulty secured. The eastern coast abounds in seals, and in a prodigious variety of marine fowls, the most remarkable of which are penguins. As they have only the rudiments of wings, and are generally seen in an erect posture, Sir John Narborough has whimsically compared them to little children standing up, with white aprons before them. One great disadvantage, however, attends this country; a scarcity of fresh water.

In the vicinity of Port St. Julian, there seems to be but few inhabitants, and these seldom make their appearance in parties. Towards Buenos Ayres, however, they are much more numerous, and excel in bravery and spirit. In point of daring, they nearly resemble the gallant Indians of Chili, who have frequently set the power of Spain at defiance, ravaged the usurped dominions of that nation, and still retain their own original independence. They are distinguished for their adroitness in equestrian exercises, and their use of all military weapons, except fire arms, of which they are kept in ignorance by the jealous vigilance of the Spaniards. No plan, however, seems so judicious and practicable, to humble the Spanish power, as to grant encouragement to the natives of this coast to annoy their invaders.

Sir John Narborough has observed, that the Port of St. Julian produces excellent salt, and in the utmost abundance; but the commodore, having dispatched an officer to the salt pond, to procure

cure a quantity, for the use of the squadron, it was found to be neither good nor plenty; which was probably occasioned by the wetness of the preceding season.

The Tryal being now refitted, which was the principal cause of their detention in this port, a council was held on board the Centurion, when the plan of operations was divulged. The commodore informed his officers, that he proposed to attack Baldivia; the propriety of which being universally allowed, new instructions were given out respecting the places of rendezvous, and the period of continuance at each; and it was farther enjoined, that no ship should, if possible, be more than two miles distant from the Centurion, as they proceeded on their voyage.

These regulations being established, the squadron weighed on the 27th of February; but the Gloucester, having made some ineffectual attempts to purchase her anchor, was left a considerable way astern; and at last was obliged to cut her cable in order to recover her station.

On the 4th of March, they came in sight of Cape Virgin, and the afternoon being bright and serene, the superior officers embraced the opportunity of paying their respects to the commodore. While they were in company on board the flag-ship, they were all greatly alarmed by a sudden flame bursting from the Gloucester, succeeded by a cloud of smoke; but their apprehensions were soon allayed by the information, that the apparent danger arose from an accidental spark falling on some loose gunpowder preparing for use, and that the ship had not received the least damage.

In these high latitudes they found fair weather of short duration, and generally the prelude to a storm. The fine afternoon, just mentioned, was succeeded by a turbulent night, which gradually deepened into a storm; when this abated, they found themselves within view of Terra del Fuego, which presented a prospect the most uncomfortable and uninviting in nature.

On the 7th they began to open the Straights, when Statenland appeared in such a wild and horrific aspect as they had never witnessed before in any climate. It seemed entirely composed of inaccessible rocks, terminating in ragged points, rising to an amazing height, and every where enveloped in snow. The chasms between these mountainous rocks were deep and gloomy, and betrayed their volcanic origin.

The squadron was hurried through these Straights by the rapidity of the tide at the rate of ten or twelve knots an hour; and now they began to flatter themselves, the dangers of the navigation were nearly at an end, and that they should soon reach the coasts where all their wishes centered. The golden dream, which imagination had formed, was heightened by the brightness of the sky and the serenity of the weather; but scarcely had they reached the southern extremity of the Straights of La Maire, when all their pleasing hopes were lost in the prospect of immediate destruction. The sky on a sudden became black, the wind shifted to the south, and the tide, which had hitherto so propitiously wafted them on, turned, and drove them with prodigious rapidity to the eastward; while the Wager and the Anna Pink, the sternmost ships, were in the momentary

mentary danger of being dashed on the shore of Statenland.

Next morning, instead of being able to pursue their intended course to the south-west, they found themselves seven leagues to the eastward of the Straights of La Maire. Indeed, for the long space of three months, they struggled with such dangers and distresses as are scarcely to be paralleled; and had a continual succession of such tempestuous weather as astonished the oldest and most experienced mariners, who confessed, that hitherto they had no conception of storms, when compared with the violence of these winds, which raised the sea into mountains, and filled them with the incessant dread of some wave breaking over them, which infallibly would have sent them to the bottom.

The ships rolled without intermission, and the men were in perpetual danger of being dashed to pieces against the decks and sides of the ships; and, notwithstanding all the precautions they could use, many of them were killed or disabled. These tempests were rendered more mischievous from the manner of their approach; for, if at any time a momentary calm tempted them to spread their sails, so sudden was the return of the wind, that it tore the sails to pieces before they could be furled. To increase the calamity, great quantities of snow and fleet generally accompanied these storms, which freezing on the rigging, made the cordage brittle and insecure; at the same time that the limbs of the mariners were numbed by the intensity of the cold, and not a few had their toes and fingers mortified.

It were needless to enumerate all the disasters which beset the squadron. The Centurion, in

particular, by labouring in this lofty sea, grew so loose in her upper works, that she admitted the water at every seam, and scarcely any of the officers had ever the comfort of lying in dry beds.

On the 23d of March, a violent gust sprung the main yard of the flag ship, and in spite of all their endeavours to save it, much the greater part was blown overboard. A deceitful calm succeeding, they lay by to repair the damage; but in less than twenty-four hours, the storm coming on with renewed force, the Centurion still suffered more and greater injuries; nor was it possible, from the fogs which sometimes intervened, to keep the squadron together without the utmost vigilance.

On the last day of March, the main yard of the Gloucester was broke in the flings, and to prevent their being detained in that inhospitable clime, the commodore ordered several carpenters on board, that the damage might be repaired with the utmost expedition. Next day, the sky looked unusually dark and gloomy, and on the 3d of April, the storm which had been gradually rising, became so infuriate, that in violence and duration it exceeded all they had hitherto encountered. The Centurion suffered severely: signals of distress were made from the different ships, and in this conflict of the elements, it was impossible to yield relief.

According to their reckoning, they were some degrees to the west of Terra del Fuego by the end of March; and by standing to the north, with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather would permit, they began to indulge the hopes of soon reaching a more propitious climate; but

but this only rendered their disappointment more terrible; for on the 14th of April, the weather clearing up from a thick haze, the Anna Pink made a signal for seeing land right ahead, at the distance of no more than two miles; and had the wind blown with its usual violence, or the sky been obscured, every ship must have perished on the shore.

This land, to their great amazement, they found to be Cape Noir, though they imagined they were ten degrees more westerly. The currents had deceived them so much, that they had not advanced more than half the way they reckoned.

They were now obliged to steer once more to the southward, and, instead of approaching a warmer climate, were again to combat those terrible blasts which had filled the most intrepid with consternation. Meanwhile the men were sickening and dying apace. Three days before this discovery of land, the Severn and Pearl had separated, nor did they ever see them more; whence they concluded that these ships had been dashed on the shore in the night.

Filled with the most desponding thoughts, they stood away to the south-west, and for some days had as favourable weather as could be expected; but on the 24th of April, the wind again blew a perfect storm, and four other ships of the squadron separated, nor did any of them rejoin the commodore till his arrival at Juan Fernandez. In this tempest the Centurion had her sails rent to pieces, and most of her rigging broke.

This total and almost instantaneous separation was the more wonderful, as they had kept together for seven weeks, through all the reiterated tempests of this turbulent climate. The crew of

the Centurion now began to reflect that their passage would probably be shorter, as they were no longer retarded by the misfortunes of other ships; but on the other hand, they knew that they were exposed to danger without the possibility of relief from others; and in case of their being driven on shore, they had no prospect but of ending their days on that desolate coast.

The scurvy, which had long begun to make its inroads, now spread to such an astonishing degree, that it carried off no less than forty-three of the Centurion's crew only, in the month of April, and double that number in May. The numerous forms in which this destructive malady attacks the human form, are as astonishing as they are unaccountable. Scarcely any two felt it in a manner exactly similar. Its general symptoms, however, were large, discoloured spots over the whole body, swelled legs, putrid gums, extraordinary lassitude, and a dejection of spirits which, while it damped the kind aspirings of hope, added new vigour to the distemper.

It often produced the jaundice, pleurifies, rheumatic pains, and putrid fevers; but what is most extraordinary, it opened the scars of wounds which had been healed for several years, and dissolved the callus of bones long since broken; so that the fracture seemed as if it had never been consolidated.

On the 8th of May, the Centurion arrived off the Island of Socoro, the first rendezvous appointed for the squadron: here she cruised for several days, amidst prodigious squalls, in one of which, accompanied with thunder, the lightning burst on the deck, and wounded several of the officers and men.

To

To recite all the disasters and terrors these unfortunate men underwent, would be painful to humanity. Their evils seemed to be increasing till the 22d of May, when the fury of all the storms they had hitherto experienced, seemed to be united, and to have conspired for their destruction. Almost all the sails of the Centurion were now split and her rigging broke; while a mountainous sea gave her such a prodigious shock, that the ballast and stores shifting, threw her on one side.

By this tremendous blow, the people were thrown into the utmost consternation, from the dread of immediately foundering; but the wind abating, they set about repairing the damage, and while thus employed, were driven ashore on the Island of Chiloe. Providence once more favoured them: they got again into deep water with all hands employed; even the chaplain assisted at the helm.

This was the last storm they met with in this climate. After a fortnight's cruise, without seeing any of the other ships, the Centurion bore away for Juan Fernandez, as the only chance of saving the remainder of the crew from perishing at sea. At this period indeed generally four or five died daily.

Standing directly for the island, they were so unfortunate as not to find it in the position they expected; and though the commodore was firmly persuaded that he descried it on the 28th, his officers supposing it to be only a cloud, he was induced to stand to the eastward in the parallel of the place; and on gaining a view of the Continent of Chili two days after, had the mortification to find, that they had needlessly altered their
course

course, when just on the point of making the island.

This new disappointment spread universal dejection, and exacerbated the virulence of disease. Nor was the mistake to be remedied but with much delay. The winds and calms were now equally unfavourable for regaining the position they had lost. They spent nine days in effecting this; and when they saw the wished-for Island of Juan Fernandez, not more than ten foremast men in a watch were capable of doing their duty. Between seventy and eighty men fell martyrs to this protracted course at sea; yet it will appear in the sequel, that to this very cause it is to be ascribed, that the means of preserving the survivors were not wholly lost. So ignorant is mankind of what will ultimately be for their good, and so kind is Providence in often denying what we most anxiously crave!

The sight of land, it might have been supposed, would have had a reviving effect on the most reduced; yet such was the general debility of the crew, that it was with the utmost difficulty a sufficient strength could be mustered to bring the ship to anchor. Three months before, the Centurion had between four or five hundred men in health and full vigour; but, by the distresses they had undergone, scarcely enough remained to man the ship. The dreadful fate which attended this expedition, however, has taught succeeding mariners to seize the proper season for attempting this difficult navigation, and posterity will profit by the experience of Anson.

When the miserable victims of disease saw the vegetables and water, for which they panted, within their view, it is impossible to describe the transports

transports they expressed. The historian of the voyage very elegantly observes, "That those only who have endured a long series of thirst, and can readily recal the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time excited, can judge of the emotion with which they eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which precipitated itself from a rock, near one hundred feet high, at a small distance from the ship."

One of the lieutenants was early dispatched with the cutter to discover the bay they sought for, and soon returned laden with seals and grass. Even grass was now esteemed a delicacy, and was eagerly devoured.

It was not long after the *Centurion* had been secured in her destined station before they discovered a sail, which proved to be the *Tryal* sloop. The commodore immediately sent some hands to assist her to come to an anchor, when her commander informed him, that he had lost thirty-four men out of his small complement, and that only himself, his lieutenant and three of his men, were able to stand by the sails.

Anson's principal attention was now directed to the erection of tents on shore, for the reception of the sick. It was some days, however, before this business could be completed; when one hundred and sixty-seven persons were landed, besides twelve or fourteen who died in the boats before they could reach the shore.

It was nearly three weeks before the mortality ceased; and for the first ten or twelve days, they seldom buried fewer than six daily, and those who survived recovered by slow degrees.

The Island of Juan Fernandez has been frequently mentioned in former voyages, we shall not therefore repeat the description. The commodore was particularly industrious in directing the coasts and roads to be surveyed for the benefit of future navigators; and his observations, though little novel, shew much accuracy of remark, and a laudable desire of being useful.

The goats with which this island was once abundantly stocked, were very much reduced by a breed of dogs, which the Spaniards had purposely turned loose here to lessen the supplies which the buccaneers used to derive from this place. Among them, however, they found some of a most venerable aspect, which, from having their ears slit, they knew to have been formerly caught by Selkirk *.

As the sailors could seldom kill above one goat in a day, and grew tired of fish, they at last condescended to eat seals, which by degrees they relished, and gave their flesh the appellation of lamb.

Besides these, which are very numerous, the shores of this island are replenished with another amphibious animal, the sea-lion, whose flesh they ate under the name of beef. The conformation of these animals resembles the seal; but they are much larger. When full grown, they are from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference; and are so extremely fat, that the largest of them frequently yielded a butt of oil. Their skins are a light dun, but their tails and feet are black. The males have a

* See the voyage of Captain Woodes Rogers in the preceding volume.

large trunk or snout, depending six inches below the upper jaw, which appendage is not found in the females.

The largest sea-lion was master of the flock, and kept a numerous herd of females to himself, driving off all competitors; from whence he was appropriately named the bashaw. During summer they keep the sea; but come on shore the beginning of winter, when they engender and bring forth their young.

As they are of a very lethargic disposition, it is observed that each herd places some of its males as sentinels, who always give the alarm whenever an attempt is made to approach or molest them. The males had often furious battles with each other, chiefly respecting their mates.

They are easily killed, since their motion is as unwieldy as can be conceived; yet if not minded, they are capable of doing much mischief. A sailor being carelessly employed in skinning a young one, the female, from which it was taken, approached him unperceived, and seizing his head, notched the skull so dreadfully with her teeth, that the unfortunate man died in a few days, in spite of medical assistance.

But the most delicious repast they found here was fish, with which the bay was plentifully stored. The species are very numerous, comprehending, among various others, large cod, cavaliers, gropers, congers of a peculiar kind, and breams. Even some of the sea crawfish weighed eight or nine pounds: these were of a most excellent flavour and very nutritious.

Some time elapsing, and no ships making their appearance, the commodore began to despair of ever seeing them again. However, on the 26th
of

of June, they descried the Gloucester, and as there could be no doubt of her distressed situation, a boat laden with refreshments was ordered off to her assistance. Never indeed was a crew in more forlorn circumstances. Already they had committed to the deep two-thirds of their complement, and scarcely one was capable of duty, save the officers and servants. Their water, after being long at short allowance, was almost wholly exhausted; and, in short, they were reduced to the last extremities.

Captain Mitchel was under the necessity of detaining the boat's crew, as he had not sufficient strength to navigate the ship; yet with all their exertions they were a fortnight attempting to come in, without being able to fetch the road. On the 9th of July, she was observed stretching away to the eastward, with a design, as was supposed, of getting to the southward of the island; but as she did not appear for nearly a week, they were under the most terrible apprehensions for her fate. On the 16th she was again seen making signals of distress, when the long boat was sent off with water and refreshments, with positive orders to return directly. But the weather proving stormy, it was three days before they had a sight of her again, when with difficulty she was towed into the harbour by the cutter.

The commodore now received the affecting news that the Gloucester had scarcely a man in health on board, except the few he had sent at first sight of her, and that the mortality was extreme.

These calamities were the more deplorable, as they seemed irremediable; for this distressed vessel had already spent a month in endeavouring

ing to fetch the bay, and was no farther advanced than the first day she attempted it; and the people on board began to be overwhelmed with despair. But this very day her situation became more desperate than ever; for after she had received the last supply of refreshments, she once more disappeared. Thus were the miserable men in this vessel bandied about within a few leagues of security and plenty, without being able to reach them.

At last, on the 23d of July, she was again seen to open the north-west point of the bay with a flowing sail; when the commodore dispatching all his boats to her assistance, she was within an hour safely anchored by the Centurion.

Her crew by this time was reduced to eighty, and the greatest part of those was deplorably ill. However, by prompt assistance they were in general restored to health in a much shorter space than those had been who were landed from the Centurion.

After taking care of the sick, the commodore directed his attention to watering and cleaning his ship, under the idea of being obliged speedily to leave the island; for on their first landing, they discovered recent traces of the Spaniards, and as it was apprehended they might speedily return. Indeed as the sole business of the Spaniards at sea was to intercept the English squadron, it was most probable they would watch this island as the likeliest place to meet their object. Every thing requisite for the early commencement of their voyage was expedited, and before the arrival of the Gloucester they had made very considerable progress.

Captain Mitchel informed the commodore, that in his last absence he had been forced as far as Mafa Fuero, a small island about twenty-two leagues from Juan Fernandez, and observing some water, he had endeavoured to procure a supply, but in vain, on account of the surf. Though this island had been always represented as perfectly sterile, Captain Mitchel found it covered with trees and verdure, and thought it probable that it might afford some anchoring place.

This description gave rise to a conjecture that some of the missing ships might have fallen in with that island, and mistaken it for the true place of rendezvous. To ascertain this, the *Tryal* was fitted for sea, and ordered to explore it.

On the 16th of August, after giving her wholly up for lost, the *Anna Pink*, their victualler, was discovered coming in. Her arrival diffused universal joy; and each ship's company was immediately restored to a full allowance of bread, which had been suspended, from a presumption that they had no resources of this kind to expect.

It appeared that the *Anna* had been some time in port, on which account her crew exhibited little appearance of debility or distress. On the 16th of May they fell in with land, in 45 deg. 15 min. south latitude; and a few hours after, dropped anchor off the Island of Inchin. Still, however, they continued driving, and seeing no appearance of a harbour along the coast, they expected every moment to be dashed on the rocks which lined it. Just as they were in the instant expectation of the ship's striking, they observed a small opening in the land, which, on entering, proved to be a channel between an island and the

the continent. Here they anchored in security, and all their horrors vanished.

The fresh provisions which they found in this vicinity speedily restored the health of the crew, who had begun to fall with the scurvy. Delicacies, indeed, they could not expect: their vegetables were nettle tops and celery; they had plenty of geese, shags, and penguins; and the sea afforded cockles and muscles in abundance. Though it was the depth of winter, the trees were not destitute of verdure, nor was the climate so inhospitable as the Spanish historians have given out.

There seem to be but few inhabitants on this coast. During the time that the Anna lay here, they only saw one Indian family, consisting of a man, his wife, and two children. These people were detained on board, lest they should discover the ship to the Spaniards; but their situation was made as comfortable as possible; and except restraint, perhaps they were much better provided for than ever they had been before. The love of liberty, however, so natural to man, made the Indian attempt an escape, in which he succeeded by the favour of a dark night. He seemed a person of good natural parts; and the manner in which he eluded the vigilance of his keepers, proved that he was not wanting in the art of dexterous management.

After the Anna had refreshed her crew in this situation, and taken in wood and water, she proceeded for the rendezvous at Juan Fernandez, where, as has already been mentioned, she arrived in safety. Only three ships were now missing, the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship. The two first had parted company off Cape Noir,

and put back to the Brasils; the latter, as it afterwards appeared, had the misfortune to be wrecked, while some of her surviving crew ran through a series of adventures almost without a parallel *. The coast where the Wager was lost, it appeared, was not more than thirty leagues distant from the harbour where the Anna Pink lay at the same time. Had this circumstance been known, how much misery might have been saved! It is even said that the evening gun, fired by the Anna, was heard by the miserable shipwrecks at Wager Island.

It has been previously mentioned, that the Tryal sloop had been sent to the Island of Maza Fuero, called the lesser Juan Fernandez, by the Spaniards, to look after the missing ships; but she soon returned without making any discoveries. In the interim the Anna Pink had come in. On unloading this vessel it was found, that great part of the provisions was spoiled by the sea water, and that the ship was unfit for farther service. The crew was therefore transferred on board the Gloucester. Indeed the whole complement belonging to the three ships, was not sufficient to man the Centurion alone.

As the season for navigating these seas approached, every exertion was made to get the ships ready. On the 8th of September, they discovered a sail standing in for the island, which at first was imagined to be one of the missing ships; but on her afterwards steering an eastern course, she was known to be a Spaniard. The Centurion immediately put to sea, in order to come up with her; but next morning they had the morti-

* See Byron's Narrative, volume ten of this work.

sification to find that she was not discoverable from the mast head. However, on the 12th, another sail came in sight, which was captured at the first fire. She proved to be the *Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo*, laden with sugar, cloth, cotton, and tobacco; besides some trunks of wrought plate, and a considerable quantity of specie in dollars.

From letters discovered on board this ship, and oral information received from the prisoners, the force and destination of Admiral Pizarros squadron was ascertained with precision, and great as the misfortunes were which attended Anson's squadron, it was found that those of Pizarro were not less.

On the 25th of September, the *Centurion* saw two sail to the eastward, and giving chase, came close up to one, and was about to fire; when the prudence of Anson suggested to him to hail the chase in Spanish, on which Mr. Hughes, lieutenant of the *Tryal*, answered in English; and informed them that this vessel was a prize to the *Tryal*, taken some days ago; that she was about six hundred tons burden, and had nearly the same kind of lading as the *Carmelo*.

The *Tryal*, which had taken this ship, after a very long chase, had now the misfortune to spring her main mast, and in other respects was in great distress. This was the more deplorable as the wind blew too hard for any boat to live, that might be sent to her assistance. The commodore, however, lay to for forty-eight hours, in order to succour this distressed ship, as soon as the weather would permit.

A calm succeeding, the captain of the *Tryal* came on board the commodore, on the 27th, when it ap-

peared that his ship was incapable of being repaired, under their present circumstances; and therefore, to keep up their apparent force, the Spanish prize was manned with the Tryal's crew, and the stores and valuables being transferred on board the former, the latter was scuttled and sunk. This new accession to the squadron was called the Tryal's Prize.

Cruising orders having been issued to the different ships, the commodore took his station off Valparaiso; but waiting some time without seeing any of his consorts, he resolved to join Captain Mitchel off Païta, in order, by uniting their strength, to be able to give a warm reception to any ships that might be fitted out against them at Callao.

With this view, standing to the northward, on the 5th of November, they came in sight of the high land of Barranca, and soon had the satisfaction to capture the Santa Teresa de Jesus, a vessel of three hundred tons, bound from Guiaquil to Callao. Her cargo was not very valuable to the English; for as the Spaniards had strict orders never to ransom their ships, many articles being useless or cumbrous to the captors, were of no other advantage to them, than as their loss distressed the enemy.

Besides the crew, there were ten passengers on board this new prize, among whom were a mother and two daughters, the eldest twenty one, the youngest fourteen. These women were extremely terrified at falling into the hands of the English, whom they had been taught, by an artful policy, to consider as the most barbarous and brutal of mankind. The former outrages of the buccaneers probably gave some colour to the insinua-

sinuations of priests to the prejudice of our countrymen; and it was with great difficulty, that these unfortunate females could be brought to repose any confidence in the professions that were made them of safety and honourable treatment. The uncommon beauty of the youngest heightened their apprehensions: at first they hid themselves, and could scarcely be persuaded to come to the light; but the commodore having ordered their former apartments to be preserved inviolate for them, and the Spanish pilot to act as their protector, they gradually recovered from their consternation, and seemed to entertain a grateful sense of the compassionate and honourable behaviour they had experienced.

The Centurion being now joined by her consorts, they proceeded to the northward, spreading in such a manner that it was hardly possible for any of the enemy's vessels to escape them. Nothing, however, occurred for some days. Being now in about eight degrees south latitude, they began to be attended by a vast number of bonitos and flying-fish, which they had seen last on the coast of Brasil; hence it appeared, that these fish extended to a much higher latitude on the east than on the west side of the South American continent, which may be ascribed to the different degrees of heat. Indeed the temperature of a place depends more on local circumstances than its proximity to the equator. Thus it was found, that though the coast of Brasil is extremely sultry, yet the coast of the South Sea, in the same latitude, is perhaps as temperate as any part of the globe.

On the coast of Peru, and even under the equinoctial itself, every circumstance conspired to render

render the open air and day light desirable. In this delightful climate, the sun never darts his vivid beams, and the rains never fall. The orb of day rarely shines out, but there is constantly a cheerful grey sky, just sufficient to screen the sun and to mitigate the violence of his perpendicular rays, without tinging the light with a melancholy hue.

It is not to be doubted that this happy complexion of the heavens is chiefly owing to the vicinity of the Andes, which intercept the eastern winds, and by having their tops covered with snow, keep a large part of the atmosphere perpetually cool. These mountains, by spreading the influence of their frozen crests to the neighbouring coasts and seas of Peru, are unquestionably the cause of the happy temperature and equability that prevails there; and which are not found where their chain is discontinued.

On the 10th of November, the commodore being off Lobos saw a sail, and sent Lieutenant Brett to attack her. She struck on the first volley of small shot, and proved to be the *Nuestra Senora del Carmin*, deeply laden with steel, iron, cedar, pepper, cinnamon, and other valuable commodities, the prime cost of which amounted to more than four hundred thousand dollars.

From the passengers on board this vessel, Lieutenant Brett obtained some important information, from which it appeared that the *Gloucester* had chased a vessel into Paita a few days before, and that the coast was alarmed; in consequence of which, much treasure had been removed to an inland place, named Piura; but that a considerable quantity of money still remained in the customhouse of Paita, which was about to be shipped and sent off with all expedition.

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The commodore finding they were discovered, knew that cruising with any reasonable prospect of advantage was now at an end; and therefore determined to surprise Paita that very night.

On minutely enquiring into the strength of the place, he found that it had no other protection than the fort; that the garrison consisted of only one weak company; and that the town could not arm more than three hundred men. To act against this force, he picked out fifty-eight men well furnished with arms and ammunition; and putting them on board the boats, gave the command of the expedition to Lieutenant Brett. Two Spanish pilots were to conduct the party to the most convenient landing place, and to direct them on shore; and to secure the fidelity of these guides, the prisoners were informed that they should be all set at liberty on the faithful discharge of their office; while the pilots were given to understand, that if they were guilty of treachery or misconduct, they should instantly be shot, and their countrymen carried prisoners to England.

Matters being thus arranged, the boats put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay before they were perceived; but some persons, on board a vessel riding at anchor there, quickly spreading the alarm to the town, the whole in a few minutes was seen by the lights to be in motion.

Brett encouraged his men to act with vigour, and to allow the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for their defence; but before they could reach the shore, a gun was directed against the landing place, which, however, was fired without doing them any damage. Before a second gun could be discharged, they had made
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good their landing ; and being conducted by the pilots into a narrow street, where they were sheltered from the fire of the fort, they formed in the best manner they could, and instantly marched to the square, in which the governor's house and the fort were situated. The vociferation of the sailors, the noise of the drums, and the darkness of the night, all served to convey to the enemy the idea of a much superior force, and made them rather think of flight than resistance. However, the merchants who owned the treasure then in town, and a few of their partizans, had ranged themselves round the governor's house, and discharged a volley ; but they quickly abandoned their post.

On this success the lieutenant divided his men into two parties, one of which was to endeavour to secure the governor, the other to march against the fort. The fort was, to their great surprise and pleasure, entered without the least opposition ; and in less than a quarter of an hour from their first landing, they were in possession of the place with the loss of only one man killed and two wounded.

Guards were now placed at the fort and the governor's house, and sentinels stationed at the different avenues of the town, both to prevent surprise and embezzlement. The governor had escaped half naked among the rest of the fugitives, leaving his wife, a young lady of about seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married only a few days, to be carried off by a couple of sentinels, in her bed clothes, just as the detachment arrived before the house. The few inhabitants who remained in the town were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except

cept some stout negroes, who were employed in assisting to convey the treasure from the custom house to the fort.

Though the party was actively employed all night in securing the spoils, they could not be prevented from entering the houses which lay in their way; and as most of the inhabitants had fled naked, they easily furnished themselves with Spanish dresses, which being generally very showy, made a truly grotesque appearance over dirty jackets and trousers. Some had even equipped themselves in women's gowns and petticoats, which, provided they were fine, seemed to please as well as the masculine attire. In short Mr. Brett could scarcely know his own men; so much had they metamorphosed themselves.

When morning opened, the ships were approaching Païta under an easy sail, and had the pleasure to see the English flag flying on the fort. Some of the treasure was now sent on board the Centurion, and every exertion was used to collect and secure the whole. Meanwhile the enemy assembled from all parts of the country on a hill behind the town, and with them were two hundred horse apparently well equipped. They paraded with great ostentation, practising every art to intimidate the party on shore, and to make them abandon the town before the pillage was completed.

The business, however, was carried on with much expedition, and the ensuing night every precaution was taken to prevent a surprisal. It was now found of what consequence it would have been to have secured the governor. Many warehouses were filled with rich commodities which could not be received on board; and
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though messages were sent to the governor to offer the ransom of the town on the most moderate terms, he was so arrogant that he would not even deign to return an answer.

The third night that the English had been in possession of this place, they were given to understand that the Spaniards, who had now collected a formidable force, meant to storm it; but the vigilance and precaution which the enemy saw used to counteract their designs, damped their resolution; and the night passed in quiet as before.

The treasure being all conveyed on board, the third morning was employed in carrying off the most valuable effects remaining; and the commodore intending to sail in the afternoon, the Spanish prisoners, to the number of eighty-eight, were set on shore. Lieutenant Brett at the same time received orders to burn all the town except the churches, which commission he executed with such promptness, that the whole was speedily in a blaze.

When the Spaniards saw the English retreating, they made a faint to pursue them; but no sooner had Mr. Brett ordered his party to halt and face them, than it put a stop to their career.

The detachment being safe on board, the commodore immediately prepared for sailing. At coming into the bay, he found six of the enemy's vessels at anchor, one of which being reputed a prime sailer, he resolved to take with him. The rest were scuttled and sunk. The command of the new vessel was given to Mr. Hughes, the lieutenant of the *Tryal*. The squadron was now augmented to six sail, the whole of which weighed and stood out for sea.

Paita, so often devoted to plunder, is situated in a barren soil, in 5 deg. 12 min. south latitude, and is chiefly valuable for its port, esteemed the best on that part of the coast; and is, therefore, much frequented by vessels coming from the north. The town does not contain more than two hundred houses, which are principally built of split cane and mud, and thatched with leaves.

The loss of the Spaniards, by the destruction of this place, was very considerable; since much valuable property was consumed, exclusive of what was carried away. The wrought plate and coin amounted to thirty thousand pounds sterling, besides rings, bracelets, and jewels, whose value could not be determined. The plunder, that became the property of the immediate captors, was also very great; and, on the whole, this was the most important acquisition they had made.

It has been already observed, that all the prisoners were liberated at Paita, among whom were some persons of distinction, particularly a youth of about seventeen years of age, the son of the vice-president of the council of Chili. In common with the other natives of these countries, he had been prepossessed with the most terrible ideas of the cruelty of the English, and at first bemoaned his captivity in the most moving terms; but, by the reiterated proofs he received of the commodore's humanity and attention, he became so well reconciled, and seemed to have contracted so great an affection for him, that it is doubted, whether he would not have preferred a voyage to England, to his being immediately set on shore.

Indeed, to the honour of the national character, be it known, that the prisoners in general, from

the treatment they had experienced, began to entertain very favourable sentiments of the English. The ladies, in particular, were so sensible of the obligations they owed him for his delicate attention, that they absolutely refused being set on shore, till they had personally waited on him to return their thanks. Among the captives was a jesuit of some distinction, who likewise made his acknowledgments in the name of his countrymen, and declared, that he should feel it his duty to do the commodore's character justice; and added, that his conduct towards the male prisoners could never be forgot, but that his behaviour to the women was so extraordinary, that he doubted whether it would be credited. This ecclesiastic, it seems, as well as the other prisoners, did not withhold their panegyric when they reached Lima; and the jesuit, in particular, shewed a desire to interpret the article of his church, which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved, in a lax and hypothetical sense, when he contemplated the character of Anson.

Soon after they left Paita, a jealousy arose between the ships crews and the party on shore, in respect to private plunder, which was carried to so great a height, that the admiral thought fit to interpose his authority, to prevent mischievous consequences. He set before the party, who had carried the town, the justice of the rest participating in the spoils; and, ordering the whole to be produced on deck, made an equitable division, according to rank; but as an encouragement to those who had behaved so well in the attack, he gave his own entire share to be distributed among them.

This troublesome affair being adjusted to the satisfaction of all those who were capable of perceiving the force of equity, they immediately after had the good fortune to fall in with the Gloucester, whose captain informed them, that during his absence he had taken only two prizes, one of which had about seven thousand pounds in specie on board, while the other, though no more than a launch, carried treasure to the amount of twelve thousand, in double doubloons and dollars, curiously concealed in cotton. This treasure was going to Paita, and belonged to the merchants, who were the proprietors of the greatest part of the money found in that town.

It was now resolved to proceed to the north to cruise for the Manilla galleon, which was known to be at sea; and as it was now only the middle of November, and that vessel was not expected till January, they did not doubt of being able to arrive soon enough to intercept her, after taking in a supply of water at Quibo. Two of the prizes which had been added to the squadron, proving heavy sailers, were ordered to be stripped and burned.

On the 22d, after some trivial arrangements and preparations, they passed the equinoctial, when, standing towards the isthmus, they experienced an extraordinary alteration of the climate, having frequent calms and heavy rains, which soon made it necessary to caulk the decks and sides of the Centurion.

About the beginning of December they anchored at Quibo, which they found extremely well adapted for wooding and watering. The whole island, except one part, rises to a moderate eminence, and its surface is covered with woods

of perpetual verdure. Among the trees they found abundance of Cassia ; but, notwithstanding the climate and the shelter of the woods, they saw but few birds, except of the parrot kind.

The animals most plentiful, were monkeys and guanoes, which they frequently killed for food. They saw some herds of deer, but found it very difficult to get near them.

The sea is infested with a great number of alligators of an extraordinary size, and the people often observed a large kind of flat fish, which they supposed to be of that species, so fatal to the pearl divers, by clasping them in its fins. While the ships lay at anchor here, the commodore, with some attendants, went in a boat to examine a bay to the northward, and afterwards ranged along the eastern side of the island. On the north-east extremity they discovered a cascade, superior to any thing of the kind, which human art or industry had ever produced. It was a river of transparent water, about forty yards wide, which precipitated itself down a declivity of one hundred and fifty feet. The channel down which it flowed was entirely composed of rocks, whose broken fragments kept the water in constant agitation. The banks were beautifully fringed with wood, and even the huge masses of rock which overhung the water, and by their various projections formed the inequalities of the channel, were clothed with lofty forest trees.

In this expedition they saw no inhabitants, but many huts on the shore, and large heaps of fine mother of pearl, which had been left by the pearl fishers from Panama. These oysters are large, but very tough and unpalatable. Such as produce the best pearls are found at a considerable depth,

depth, and it is generally seen, that the pearl partakes of the quality of the bottom.

Negro slaves are employed in these valuable, though dangerous, fisheries; and it is said, they are not reckoned complete divers, till they can protract their stay under water so long, that the blood gushes out from their mouth, nose, and ears; and when this has once happened, they practise their vocation with more facility than before, nor ever are subject to a repetition of the same evacuations.

Though the pearl oyster was no very tempting food, yet that disappointment was amply compensated for by the turtle, which is here found in the most exuberant plenty, and the greatest perfection. There are usually reckoned four species; the loggerhead, the trunk-turtle, the hawkbill, and the green. The two first are rank and unwholesome; the hawkbill, which produces the tortoiseshell, is somewhat better; but the green turtle is the most delicious of all animal food. Of these they procured an ample supply; and, in general, they weighed two hundred pounds.

By the liberal use of fresh provisions and vegetables, during the space of seven months, they buried only two men; an indisputable proof of the salubrity of the climate, and the wholesomeness of the fare on which they subsisted.

It is, however, remarkable, that notwithstanding the scarcity of other provisions on some parts of this coast, the Spaniards should hold turtle in so little estimation. Most of them consider this kind of food as dangerous, if not absolutely poisonous. Some of the Indian and negro slaves on board, having imbibed the prejudices of the country, were astonished, when they observed the Eng-

lish feeding on turtle ; and it was not till after repeated proofs of its innocence, that they would venture to taste it themselves. However, at last they began to relish it extremely, and congratulated each other on the luxuries and plentiful repasts that it would always be in their power to procure, when they recovered their liberty.

Having left Quibo on the 9th of December, they next day took a small bark, laden with rock salt and oakum. On the 12th, they came up with the Gloucester, which had separated from them before their arrival at the last station. The commodore now delivered fresh instructions to the different commanders, and appointed new places of rendezvous, in case of separation. It was particularly recommended, to endeavour, with all possible dispatch, to get to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco ; and, as they expected to fall in with the trade wind, they did not doubt of being able to gain this station in due time. However, they were baffled, for near a month, by tempestuous weather and dead calms ; and, at length, beginning to despair of intercepting the Manilla ship, they gave way to despondency. At last they fell in with the trade wind, which served to revive their hopes ; and though the usual time of the galleon's arrival at Acapulco was already elapsed, they flattered themselves that the same causes which delayed their progress, might have detained the enemy also.

At ten at night, on the 28th of January, the Tryal's prize made a signal for seeing a sail. As no body doubted but what they saw was a ship's light, they were animated with the firm persuasion, that it was the Manilla galleon ; and every preparation was accordingly made, which sanguine

guine hope and the prospect of immediate wealth could dictate or inspire. The Centurion pressed forward with all her canvass; the Gloucester was directed to do the same, and then they chased the light, under the expectation of engaging within the short space of half an hour. Sometimes they fancied themselves within a mile of their prize, at others, within reach of their guns; and there were not wanting, who fancied that they could perceive her sails. The commodore himself was so fully impressed with the belief that he should soon come up with the chace, that he ordered the guns to be ready for a broadside, and directed that they should not fire till within pistol shot.

In this constant and eager expectation they remained all night; but when morning came on, they awaked as from a dream. The object of all their bustle and hope was found to be no other than a fire on a mountain, which continued burning for several days; and, probably, arose from heath or stubble, consuming for the purposes of agriculture.

Thus frustrated, the commodore dispatched the barge in search of the Harbour of Acapulco, and to ascertain whether the galleon was actually arrived. On the 19th of February she returned, and reported, that they had discovered the harbour; and that, having got within the island which forms its mouth, they discerned a small light near the surface of the water, which they found proceeded from a fishing canoe. By good fortune they secured the three negroes who belonged to it; and turning the canoe adrift, to give those on shore the idea that her crew were drowned, they brought them safe off.

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From these persons the commodore was soon satisfied, respecting the most material points which had long kept them in suspense. They informed him, that the galleon arrived on the 18th of January; but revived his hopes by adding, that she was taking in water and provisions in order to return, and that her departure was fixed for the 14th of March.

The last part of this intelligence diffused a general joy among the mariners, and they promised themselves a richer prize than they had formerly missed, as she would now be chiefly laden with specie. Depending on the accounts they had received, they waited for the important moment with the utmost impatience; and employed themselves in bringing the squadron into the most advantageous trim.

When the expected day was approaching, the commodore ranged his ships in a circular line, that nothing might pass undiscovered, within an extent of twenty-four leagues. Every precaution, indeed, was used to prevent failure, and every plan settled that could ensure success.

As the morning dawned, that was to bring them the expected fight, neither the duties of the ship, nor the calls of hunger, could divert the eyes of the men from the port of Acapulco. But, to their extreme vexation, both that day and the succeeding night passed without any signs of the galleon. Hopes and fears now alternately possessed them, till the commencement of passion week, when no Spanish ship is permitted to leave the port; and this induced them to defer their expectations till the week following, when their hopes became as sanguine as ever.

The time, however, being now far spent, a general dejection and despondency took place; and they concluded, that they had been discovered; which was, indeed, the truth; and that the galleon would not be permitted to sail till the succeeding year.

The commodore now concerted a plan for the capture of Acapulco itself; but when he enquired into the circumstances of the place, he found insuperable difficulties in his way, and was obliged to abandon the enterprise.

On the 24th of March, the ships being all joined, the commodore made a signal to speak with their commanders, and finding that the stock of fresh water began to run low, it was resolved to procure a fresh supply at Seguatania, or Chequetan; but lest the galleon should slip out, the Centurion's cutter was to cruise twenty-four days off the port of Acapulco, to be ready to convey the earliest information of this event.

Storms and adverse currents prevented them from reaching so far as Seguatania till the 1st of April, when two boats were sent off to discover the watering place. They returned on the 5th, and having found a place fit for their purpose, which appeared to be the Harbour of Chequetan, about seven miles to the west, the Centurion and Gloucester anchored there the same evening.

The port of Chequetan is a place of considerable importance, being the only secure harbour, except Acapulco, in a vast extent of coast. It lies in 17 deg. 36 min. north, about thirty leagues from the last mentioned place.

As the country appeared to be well peopled and cultivated, the commodore was in hopes of procuring some fresh provisions and other refreshments,

ments, without difficulty ; and with this view, he ordered a party of forty men well armed to penetrate into the country, to discover some town or village, and to open a correspondence with the natives. These men were enjoined to behave with the utmost circumspection, and to avoid any appearances of a hostile intention.

The attempt, however, to open an amicable traffic proved ineffectual ; and they returned in the evening fatigued and exhausted. After proceeding some miles inland, they reached a large plain, on one side of which they discovered a sentinel on horseback. At their first approach they supposed he was asleep, for his horse starting at the glittering of their arms, suddenly turned round, and had nearly thrown his master ; however, he recovered his seat, and escaped with the loss of his hat and a pistol, which he dropped on the ground. The party pursued his track, in hopes of discovering the village or habitation to which he should retreat ; but, after fatiguing themselves in vain, they were obliged to desist.

Anxious, however, to make some discovery, they proceeded farther on, and in their way stuck up several poles, to which they affixed written declarations, in Spanish, of their wish to purchase provisions, with the strongest assurances, that they would honourably pay for what the natives might bring in. But this step too was ineffectual ; for none of the inhabitants visited them during their stay at Chequetan.

Indeed, the timidity of these people is extreme. Lieutenant Brett being sent out, with two boats and sixteen men, to reconnoitre the coast to the eastward, fell in with three small squadrons of horse, which seemed determined to oppose his landing ;
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but when they perceived that he was not daunted, they fired some distant shot, and receiving a volley from the English, immediately fled in great confusion, and sheltered themselves in a wood. Thus, nearly two hundred Spanish horsemen were afraid to face sixteen English sailors !

The commodore finding it impossible to open a friendly correspondence with the natives for necessaries, turned his attention to the procuring of such refreshments as the neighbourhood of the port supplied. The sea was stored with excellent fish, of which they caught considerable quantities. They, likewise, found here the torpedo, so well known to produce a numbness over the human frame, particularly of that limb with which it comes in contact. The historian of this voyage says, that he had a considerable degree of numbness conveyed to his arm, by touching this animal with a walking cane. Its surprising effects, however, are immediately lost with its life : when dead, it may be handled, or even eaten, without the least inconvenience.

The guanoes were the most numerous of the animals they met with on shore ; and by some they are reckoned delicious food. They saw no beasts of prey, but were convinced that the woods sheltered tigers, as the prints of their feet were frequently to be discerned. Of birds they had many species, particularly pheasants, of various kinds.

Fruits and vegetables were scarce, and by no means of the first quality. Limes, plums, and papaws were the only fruits they discovered, and these neither good nor plentiful. Brooklime was the best vegetable they met with, which, though
extremely

extremely bitter and unpalatable, was highly esteemed for its antiscorbutic virtues.

An incident happened at this place, which proved the means of conveying information to England, of the previous transactions of the squadron. Lewis Leger, the commodore's cook, a Frenchman by birth, and suspected to be a papist, being found missing, it was immediately concluded, that he had deserted, with a view of betraying them to the enemy, and of enjoying the price of his perfidy with less hazard to himself. This surmise, so natural to form, when a Frenchman is in the pay of England, was in this particular case found to be unjust. The poor man, it seems, straying beyond the usual bounds, had been taken prisoner by some Indians, by whom he was carried to Acapulco; and after some delays, was put on board a vessel at Vera Cruz, which was bound for Old Spain. By some accident, this vessel being obliged to put into Lisbon, Leger escaped, and making himself known to the British consul, obtained a passage for England, where the intelligence he had to communicate made him favourably received.

Having unladen the Tryal's prize, the Carmelo, and Carmin of their most valuable articles and stores, these vessels were towed on shore and scuttled, and a quantity of combustibles were distributed in their upper works. Next morning, the 28th of April, the Centurion and Gloucester weighed anchor, after leaving a canoe fixed to a grapnel, in the midst of the harbour, with a letter for Mr. Hughes, who commanded the cutter that had been stationed off Acapulco, in case he should put in there. This letter afterwards fell
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into the hands of the Spaniards ; but was couched in such ambiguous terms, as deceived rather than informed them.

As the commodore had no farther views in the American seas, it was no small mortification to him, to be detained by the absence of the cutter, the time of whose cruise had been long expired. In order to rejoin her more speedily, it was resolved to proceed towards Acapulco ; and in case she could not be found, attempts were to be made to ascertain whether she had been captured.

Having advanced within three leagues of Acapulco, without any sight of this missing vessel, they began to give her over for lost, and to bewail the fate of her crew, whom they generally concluded to be in captivity. However, to bring this supposition to an early proof, the commodore sent a letter to the governor of the town, offering to release all the prisoners he had on board, in exchange for the cutter's crew, consisting of the lieutenant and six picked men of tried resolution. The officer, who carried this letter, had likewise a petition from the prisoners, in which they earnestly besought the governor to comply with the terms proposed.

To an offer so generous it was not doubted the Spaniards would readily accede, and accordingly they kept near the land, in order to receive an answer at the time limited ; but being driven out to sea, on the 4th day after the proposal was sent, they were fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco, which they were indefatigably striving to regain.

While thus standing in with a favourable wind, a boat under sail was descried at a considerable distance. This they supposed might be convey-

ing the expected message, and instantly edged towards her; but on a nearer approach they found, to their unspeakable joy, that it was their own cutter. At first it was imagined they had been discharged by the Governor of Acapulco, but when they drew nearer, the pale and meagre countenances of the crew, and their emaciated forms, convinced every one, that these poor people must have undergone sufferings much greater than those of a Spanish prison. In short, it appeared, that, after they had finished their cruise, they endeavoured to rejoin the squadron, but being carried by currents far to the eastward, and their water all expended, they were obliged to search the coast for a landing place, in order to get a fresh supply. In this distress they ran upwards of eighty leagues, but were every where prevented from landing by a violent surf. Some days past in this dreadful situation, during which, their thirst being increased by the heat of the climate, they had no other means of allaying it, but by killing turtle and sucking their blood. Just as they were abandoned to despair, Providence sent them such a plentiful shower, as filled their casks, and enabled them to prosecute their voyage in quest of the commodore, whom they luckily fell in with in less than fifty hours, after an absence of forty-three days.

Anson had too much greatness of soul to sport with the feelings of the unfortunate. As he had promised the prisoners their liberty on conditions which, it appeared, could not be performed, he was determined not to disappoint their hopes. They were all sent ashore in two launches to the number of fifty-seven; and it was afterwards known that they landed in safety, and made the most honourable

nourable mention of the humanity with which they had been treated. Before their arrival, it seems the Governor of Acapulco had returned an obliging answer to the commodore's letter, accompanied with two boats' load of the choicest refreshments and provisions; but these not finding the English ships, were obliged to return; and encountering a storm, were compelled to throw their lading overboard, to save their lives.

The Centurion and Gloucester, having dismissed the prisoners, immediately set sail to the south-west, with a view of falling in with the trade wind, which they had been taught to expect within seventy or eighty leagues from the land; and on the 6th of May they lost sight of the mountains of Mexico. Notwithstanding all their exertions, however, it was seven weeks before they fell in with the true trade wind; by which time both ships were become extremely crazy, and the Centurion sprung a leak. Meanwhile the Gloucester made a signal of distress; and on enquiry it was found, that her mainmast was so decayed as to be unfit for supporting a sail.

These accidents occasioning delay, and the scurvy again beginning to appear, they were in the greatest anxiety about their future safety. They had indeed flattered themselves that in this warm climate, so different from that of Cape Horn, the violence of this disease and its fatality might be in some degree mitigated. As they had used the utmost precaution in cleanliness, and had generally subsisted on fresh provisions, it was little apprehended that the scurvy would be felt with its usual virulence; but all the care they took could neither stop the progress, nor abate the malignity of this fatal disease.

When they reached the trade wind, it seldom blew with such strength, as to endanger the Centurion whatever sail she carried, and they might have made a rapid progress; but the Gloucester having lost her mainmast, sailed so heavily, that it was found impossible to keep her company without risking the lives of all. It was therefore determined to transfer her crew and treasure on board the Centurion, and then to set the former on fire. She blew up when the commodore was about four leagues distant, and with her an immense quantity of valuable goods was lost, which could not be carried off.

The Centurion, being now freed from the delays occasioned by her consort, and having increased her complement, might have been expected to proceed with increased speed; but they had new difficulties to struggle with. The storms and currents had driven them near four degrees to the north of the parallel they had proposed to keep, in order to reach the Isle of Guam, and as they were ignorant how near they were to the meridian of the Ladrones, they were apprehensive of missing them. In that case the only chance they had was the continent of Asia, where the western monsoon being in full force, they could not expect to get in; and indeed they were now in such a languishing condition, that they could expect nothing but destruction before they could complete such an extensive navigation. For now no day passed without their burying ten or twelve of their men; and sickness regularly increased.

After struggling with various difficulties, on the 22d of August they had the satisfaction to find that the current had shifted and carried them to the southward, and next morning they were cheered

cheered with the sight of two islands to the west. This served to raise their drooping spirits, and gave them inexpressible joy; as they had, for some time despaired of ever seeing land again. The nearest of these islands was Anatacan, the other was Serigan. They were very anxious to reach the former, in hopes of discovering anchorage and refreshments for the sick; but the boat sent out to reconnoitre the coast, returned without finding any road for a ship to anchor in, and reported that some of the crew, having with difficulty landed, saw some groves of cocoa-nut trees, but no water.

This intelligence diffused a general melancholy; and their despondency was increased, when, as they were attempting to get off some coconuts, the wind blew so strong that they were driven too far to the southward to be able to regain the island. Their only chance now was, some one of the Ladrone Islands, and as their knowledge of them was extremely imperfect, they were to trust entirely to fortune for their guidance.

Soon after losing sight of Anatacan, they were again overjoyed with a view of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan, on which they immediately steered for Tinian, the middlemost; but, owing to a calm, they were long before they could get near it. As they approached they saw a proa under sail, from which they concluded that these islands were inhabited; and accordingly, in case of opposition, they mustered all hands capable of standing to their arms, to conceal their wretched circumstances, and displayed Spanish colours, in order to obtain some authentic intelligence,

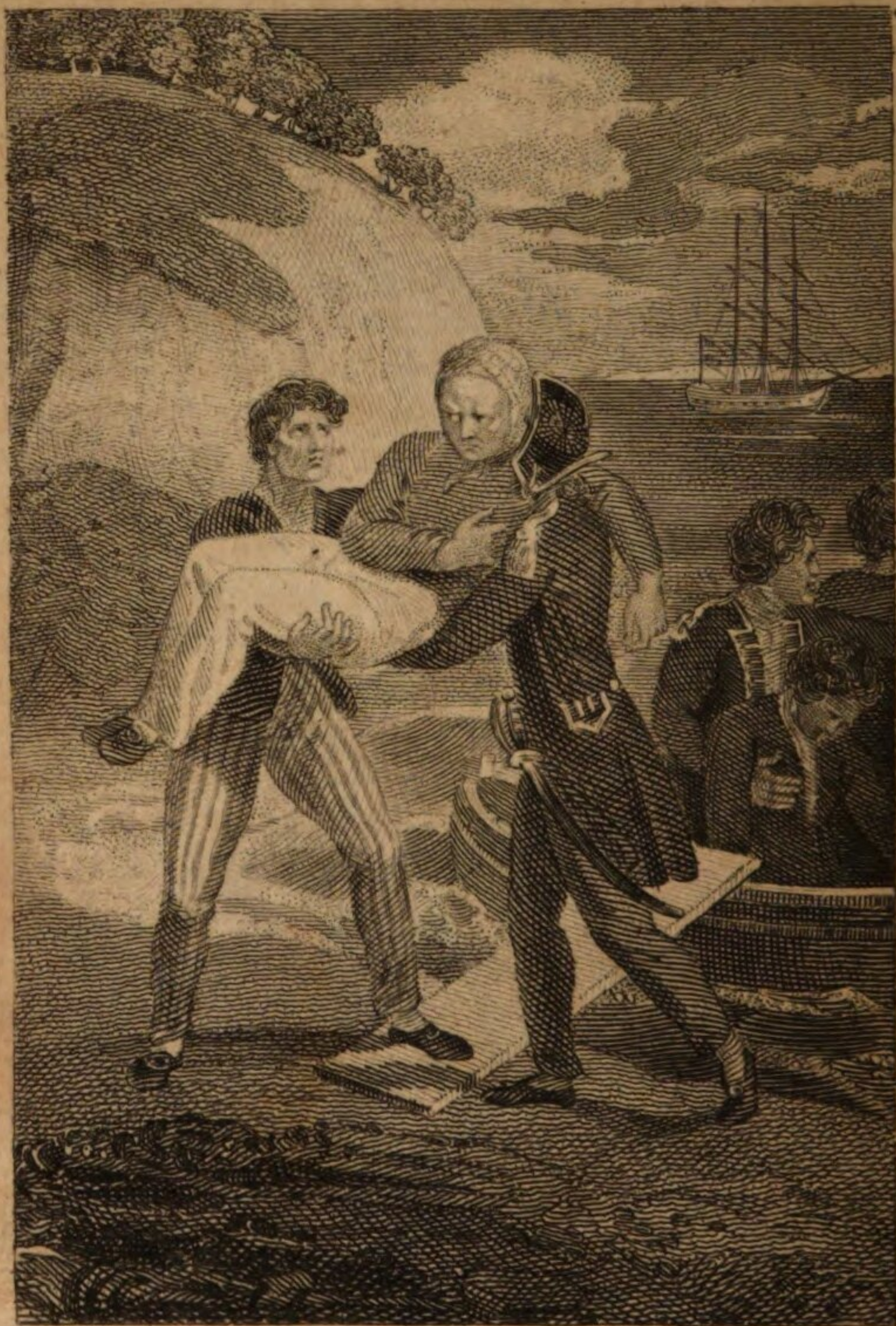
The cutter was now dispatched to find a proper birth for the ship, and it was soon perceived

that a proa, taking the Centurion for the Manilla ship, put off from the island to meet the cutter. The English immediately secured the crew, consisting of a Spaniard and four Indians, and brought them on board the commodore.

The information received from these people was flattering in the extreme. They said that the island was little peopled, and had no force on it; and yet that the accommodations to be procured were equal to those of the most cultivated countries. Among these were plenty of water, incredible numbers of cattle, hogs, and poultry, and the most delicious fruits, one of which supplied the place of bread. It farther appeared, that the Spaniards at Guam made use of this island as a store for supplying the garrison, on which account the prisoners had been sent thither to jerk beef, which they were to transport to Guam in a small bark then lying near the shore.

Thus they were providentially brought to this delightful island, by means which they had at first considered as the greatest misfortune; for had the winds and currents been favourable to their wishes, it is probable they might have missed it, and with it all opportunity of refreshing their exhausted crew.

The commodore being solicitous to prevent any communication with Guam, secured the bark, and the same evening cast anchor in twenty-two fathoms water. But though the weather was almost calm, and all the vigour and spirit possessed by the crew were excited on their going to land on this little terrestrial paradise, they were so weak that it took five hours to furl the sails. Indeed, the whole number of hands now capable of duty, was reduced



Richter del. et sc.

*Landing of the Sick from the Centurion
at the Island of Tinian.* Page 199.

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duced to seventy-one, though the collective force on leaving England consisted of one thousand men.

As the commodore was unacquainted with the sentiments of the natives, he sent a party, well armed, to secure the landing place, when it was found that the Indians had fled, and left their huts on the shore, which supplied the place of tents.

One of these, which had been used as a store-house, was immediately converted into an hospital; and one hundred and twenty-eight sick men were brought on shore. Many of these were so helpless, that the commodore and his officers, with a humanity which did them honour, indiscriminately assisted, by carrying them from the boats on their shoulders.

Notwithstanding their present debility, the greatest part of the sick soon felt the salutary influence of the land; for, though twenty-one men were buried on that and the subsequent day, during a stay of two months, they did not lose above ten more. The choice fruits with which they were plentifully supplied, had such a beneficial effect, that within a week most of them were so well recovered as to be able to move without assistance.

The Isle of Tinian lies in 15 deg. 8 min. north latitude, and 114 deg. 50 min. west longitude from Acapulco. It is about twelve miles long and six broad. The land rises in gentle slopes from the beach; but the ascent is frequently broken by vallies of a moderate depth, some of which irregularly traverse the country. These vallies, and the gradual swellings of the ground, to which their different combinations gave rise, are beautifully diversified by the mutual approach
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of woods and lawns, which border on each other, and extend in large tracks over the whole island. The woods are composed of tall spreading trees, estimable both for their fruit and utility. The lawns are covered with an uniform turf, composed of very fine trefoil, intermixed with various flowers. Hence arose a great diversity of the most luxuriant prospects, according to the different blendings of these woods and lawns, through the vallies and along the slopes.

The animals which enliven the landscape, partake of the romantic cast of the island itself, and greatly increase its beauty. Hundreds of cattle, all milk white except their ears, may be seen feeding together; and the flocks of domestic poultry, with discordant music, give the perfect idea of the vicinity of farms and villages.

The cattle of Tinian are calculated to amount to ten thousand. Their flesh was extremely well flavoured; and the fowls were most delicious and easily secured. Indeed no delicacy was wanting to please the nicest palate, or to suit the weakest stomach. Ducks, teals, and curlews were abundant, and, of the whistling plover, they found prodigious plenty.

The hogs were numerous and afforded excellent food; but being very fierce, they were obliged to be shot, or hunted with large dogs, with which the island had been stocked from Guam for that express purpose.

Nor were the vegetable productions of less value. The woods produced sweet and sour oranges, limes, guavaes, cocoa-nuts, and a peculiar kind of fruit, called, by the Indians, Rhyma; but by the Centurion's people, the bread fruit, which was constantly used instead of bread, and even preferred

red to it. This valuable production grows on a moderately high tree, with large spreading branches near the top. The fruit is somewhat oval, covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long. It is best when green, but when full grown and roasted in the embers, has some resemblance to the taste of an artichoke. As it ripens, it turns yellow, and has a delightful taste, not unlike that of a ripe peach.

It is, however, impossible to enumerate all the beautiful and salutary plants which this island supplies; nor did it fail to excite the wonder of the English, that a spot, so highly favoured by nature, should not be colonized. To account for this, it should be observed, that about half a century before the Centurion touched here, it was a populous country, containing thirty-thousand souls; but a sickness raging at Guam and some of the neighbouring islands, the Spaniards, to recruit the people of that favourite settlement, transported all the natives of Tinian thither, where, languishing for their native land, in a few years the greatest part of them died of grief.

The island, indeed, still affords remains which shew it to have been once extremely populous; for in all parts it is covered with ruins of buildings, some of which were said to be of religious origin.

It must not be omitted, that all these local advantages are much enhanced by the salubrity of the climate, by the breezes which constantly prevail, and by the genial showers with which it is watered.

But nature, where most propitious, always distributes her favours with some reserve. The mosquitoes are excessively troublesome, and there
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are several poisonous reptiles. However, the greatest exception to this place, is the inconvenience of its road, which, in some seasons, affords but very indifferent shelter for ships at anchor.

As the sick were landing, four of the Indians on the island presented themselves to the commodore, one of whom offered to direct them to the most convenient place for killing cattle; and two of the crew were ordered to attend him on that service; but on one of them trusting him with a firelock and pistol, he escaped with them into the woods. His countrymen, apprehensive of suffering for his perfidy, desired leave to fetch back the arms, and to persuade the rest to submit. The commodore granted their request, and the arms were produced, but it being pretended that none of the Indians were to be met with, Anson began to suspect some treachery was meditated, and ordered those he had in custody to be carried on ship board, and to have no intercourse with the shore.

Meanwhile the repairs of the ship were carried on with as much expedition as possible, and attempts were made to stop her leak; but that was found impossible, till she could be heaved down.

By the 12th of September, those who were sufficiently recovered, were sent on board, and then the commodore, being himself ill of the scurvy, caused a tent to be erected ashore, whither he went, with a view of remaining a few days for the recovery of his health; being well aware, from what he had seen, that living on land was the most expeditious method of removing that dreadful disease.

The casks were now sent to be filled; and as the new moon was approaching, when violent gales

gales were apprehended, every precaution was used to arm the anchors, and to secure the ship from danger. Some days elapsed in security, but on the 22d of September, it blew with such fury, that the people on board despaired of riding out the storm. The commodore and most of the hands were on shore, and as all communication between them and the ship was cut off, all their hopes of safety seemed to depend on their putting to sea.

As night approached, the storm increased, and their cables parting, they fired guns and shewed lights, as signals of distress, but without the hopes of relief. At one o'clock, amid darkness extreme, and thunder and lightning, they were forced out to sea, utterly unprepared to struggle with the united fury of the winds and waves, and in the momentary expectation of going to the bottom.

The violence of the storm, and the incessant flashes of lightning, had prevented the signals from being observed on shore; and at day break, when they perceived the ship was missing, it is impossible to express their consternation, or to enter into their feelings. Much the greater part gave her over for lost; while those who believed she might be safe, had scarcely any expectation of her ever being able to regain the island, as she was neither manned nor equipped for struggling with the difficulties of such a navigation.

The fate of the party on shore in either case was the same. Unless the ship returned, they found themselves doomed to a perpetual residence on the spot, and that they must bid an eternal adieu to all their domestic and social endearments in their native land. It was farther apprehended, that the Governor of Guam might discover
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and treat them as pirates, for which he could not want a pretext, as all their commissions were lost with the ship.

Under these gloomy impressions, the sagacity of the commodore suggested a scheme of extricating them from their present anxious situation; and having consulted some of the most intelligent persons about him, he was satisfied that what he proposed was practicable; and endeavoured to animate his people with the same resolution and belief. He opened the business by observing, he was not without hopes, that the Centurion would return in a few days; but that the worst they had to apprehend was, that she might be forced to bear away for Macao in China; in which case they must prepare themselves to follow her, by enlarging the Spanish bark, they had detained, so as to receive them all on board. The carpenters agreed, that this plan might be carried into effect; and accordingly the bark was sawed asunder, and preparations were made to lengthen her twelve feet. The commodore declared his promptitude to assist in this undertaking, and that he should desire no more of any man, than he was willing to perform himself.

Notwithstanding this spur to action, while any hope remained of seeing the ship, the task seemed irksome, and the business went on but slowly. But when the expectation was lost of a more agreeable alternative, the labour began to be carried on with activity and vigour, and the expedients they hit on to supply the want of many necessaries, not to be found on shore, did honour to their ingenuity.

In the interim two boats were descried at some distance from the island, which at first the commodore

modore supposed were bringing back the remains of his shipwrecked crew, and this melancholy idea pressed so strongly on his mind, that he retired to give vent to his feelings, and passed some bitter moments in the full belief, that every hope of signaling his expedition, by some important exploit, was now at an end. From these distressing thoughts he was, however, soon relieved, by discovering that the vessels were Indian proas; but though he gave orders to remove every thing that could render these people suspicious of landing, he had the mortification to find, that after approaching the shore, they stood on to the southward.

About the same time another incident happened, which occasioned some speculation. The commodore and some of his officers, making the tour of the island, observed a small thicket in a valley below them, with a progressive motion. After overcoming the first surprise at this strange sight, they perceived that a party of men had hit on this expedient to conceal themselves; and that the apparent thicket was only some large cocoa bushes held in a direction to screen them from view. Anson immediately endeavoured, but in vain, to come up with them. However, he had the good fortune to discover a cell, through which they had made their escape, where he found plenty of provisions, and sat down with his officers to a plentiful dinner, which the Indians had provided for themselves. It was impossible to trace the natives farther, which the commodore sincerely regretted, as he wished to enter into an amicable correspondence with them, and to engage their services and support.

As the completion of the bark advanced apace, it was now thought time to consider, how she was to be rigged and victualled, and this important business too, was in great forwardness, when all their labours were at once suspended, and a new direction given to their objects and pursuits. On the afternoon of the 11th of October, one of the mariners, being on a hill near the middle of the island, saw the Centurion at a distance, and ran with the utmost speed towards the landing place, crying out, “the ship! the ship!” This joyous sound reaching Mr. Gordon, a lieutenant of marines, he easily outstripped the original discoverer, and had the happiness of first communicating these glad tidings to the commodore.

All was now the perturbation of joy. Every person left his work and ran to the beach to feast his eyes with a sight so long and eagerly wished for. A boat being sent off with eighteen men, as a reinforcement, and some refreshments, the ship was next day brought to anchor in the road, and the commodore went on board amidst the most joyful acclamations.

Soon after the Centurion had been driven to sea, it appeared that she was in imminent danger of being wrecked on the coast of Aguigan, from which fate nothing could have saved her but the force of the currents. The storm continued for three days without abatement, during which period, it is impossible to describe their toils and feelings. When the weather began to grow moderate, they reckoned they were forty-seven leagues to the west of Tinian; but on the 1st of October, having run the calculated distance, they were unhappily disappointed in seeing the island, and reduced to the greatest perplexity and distress.

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Next day, however, they had a view of Guam, which enabling them to ascertain their situation, they kept plying to the eastward, with excessive fatigue and adverse winds, till the 11th, which was the nineteenth day from their departure, when they arrived at Tinian, as has been previously stated, to the inexpressible pleasure of all.

The commodore now determined to hasten his departure, and every preparation was accordingly made for this purpose; but on the 3d day after her return, a sudden gust of wind drove the Centurion a second time to sea, while seventy of the crew remained on shore. The weather, however, proving favourable, in five days she was again brought back to her station at Tinian.

Having speedily laid in such a supply of water and other provisions as were judged sufficient to carry them to Macao, they immediately got under sail, and steered for the southern extremity of the Isle of Formosa.

The Ladrone Islands, of which Tinian is one, have frequently been described by voyagers. They are generally reckoned twelve in number, exclusive of some islets and rocks. The three principal ones are Guam, Tinian and Rota. The two latter had scarcely any inhabitants on them at this period, and Guam, which was about thirty leagues in circumference, had no more than four thousand. At this island, the Manilla ship generally touches for refreshments, in her passage from Acapulco to the Philippines.

The Ladrone Indians are a strong, well formed, resolute people, and are not deficient in ingenuity. Their flying proas are of singular construction, and are said to be capable of running twenty miles in an hour, with a favourable gale. Indeed

they are excellently adapted for speed, every part of their structure tending to this important end.

It was the 21st of October when the Centurion left Tinian, and, after doubling the southern extremity of Formosa, they were alarmed by the cry of fire in the forecastle. On examination, it was found to have originated from the bricks in the furnace being over-heated, which communicated the fire to the adjacent wood work; but being timely discovered, it was got under without any considerable damage.

The following night they got sight of the main land of China, and soon found themselves surrounded by an incredible number of fishing boats, which seemed to cover the surface of the sea as far as the eye could reach. The commodore was in hopes of finding a pilot among them; but they could not be made to comprehend his meaning, nor did they take the least notice of the ship, though such a sight must have been a novelty to them. Next day, being within two leagues of the coast, and still surrounded with boats, they perceived one ahead of them with a red flag, and a man blowing a horn. They immediately conjectured, that this was intended as a signal to warn them of some danger, or to inform them they might be supplied with a pilot. In this, however, they were mistaken. The boat belonged to the commodore of the whole fishery, and his horn was blown as the signal that they were all to return on shore, which they instantly obeyed.

After much difficulty, a Chinese pilot was at last procured, who offered, in broken Portuguese, to carry the ship to Macao for thirty dollars. These being paid, he undertook his charge, and on the 12th of November brought the ship
safely

safely to an anchor. In this amicable port they expected the satisfaction of receiving letters from their friends and relations, and of meeting with many of their countrymen who had lately arrived from Britain.

No sooner had they come to an anchor, than the commodore dispatched an officer to the Portuguese governor, desiring his advice how to proceed, in order that he might give no offence to the Chinese government, and yet at the same time escape the exactions of port dues. The governor's opinion was, that it would be most advisable to proceed to the harbour of Typa, whither he would send a pilot to conduct him. To this the commodore acceded, and next day reached Typa, about six miles distant from Macao. Here it was presumed he might escape embroiling himself or the English East India Company with the Chinese; but the sequel will shew that Anson's caution was useless, and that the government of China never recedes without force, from any of their positive institutions.

As they were in want both of a supply of provisions and naval stores, the commodore waited on the Portuguese Governor next day, to solicit his assistance; but though this gentleman seemed inclined to render him all the services in his power, he frankly confessed, that he could not grant his request without an order from the viceroy of Canton.

On this declaration, Mr. Anson resolved to proceed to Canton, to wait on the viceroy in person; but just as he was going to embark in a hired boat, the hoppo, or customhouse officer, refused a permit, and ordered the watermen to proceed at their peril. When entreaties were found to be of no avail, the commodore resolutely told the officer,

officer, that if he threw any farther impediments in his way, he would arm the Centurion's boats; and then it would be seen who would dare to oppose him.

This appeal to force had the desired effect; but upon Anson's consulting the supercargoes and officers of the English ships, in respect to a supply of his wants, they referred him to some Chinese merchants, who having cajoled him day by day for a month, at last threw off the mask, and told him, that the viceroy was too great a man for them to approach on any occasion.

The commodore being now undeceived, and convinced of his false delicacy, immediately wrote a letter to the viceroy, stating his situation and pretensions. Two days after a mandarin of the first class, with two other inferior mandarins, and a large retinue arrived, in eighteen half gallies, and were immediately received on board the Centurion, with all the attention due to their rank, and all the ceremony that could be paid. Some Chinese carpenters having examined the ship, reported that it was impossible she could proceed to sea without being repaired, which corresponding with the commodore's representations, removed some degree of that jealous suspicion of foreigners, which seems implanted in their hearts, as the best security for their independence.

The superior mandarin appeared to be a person of much intelligence, and was endowed with more honest frankness than is common among his countrymen. He was curious and inquisitive, minutely examined every part of the ship, and seemed particularly struck with her weight of metal. The commodore thought this gave him an opportunity of enforcing the prudence of promptly supplying

plying his demands. He complained of the conduct of the customhouse officers, and the difficulties he had submitted to in regard to provisions; though, as he wished it to be understood, he possessed sufficient force, not only to supply himself with what he wanted, but to destroy the whole navigation of the port. He therefore thought it hard, that he should be debarred the privilege of laying out his money for necessaries, which was all the favour he wanted.

The mandarin acquiesced in the justness of his reasoning, and promised to call a council immediately on his return, when he did not doubt of being able to settle every thing to the commodore's wish. In the mean time, on his own authority, he gave an order for a daily supply of provisions, which was punctually complied with.

This business adjusted, the mandarins were invited to dinner, but they were much embarrassed with knives and forks; but though inexpert in the European mode of eating, they appeared no novices in drinking. The commodore pleaded illness as an excuse for not being intemperate; when the mandarin, observing a florrid gentleman in the company, clapped him on the shoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that he was sure he had no excuse to make on the score of health, and that he expected he would bear him company. They dispatched several bottles of Frontiniac, without appearing ruffled; and after that, having nearly finished a bottle of citron water, they took their leave, not, however, without receiving the usual presents.

After some obstacles from the council, to which the mandarin had referred the claims of the commodore, an order was at last obtained for repairing
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ing the *Centurion*; and a great number of Chinese carpenters and smiths went on board, and settled the terms of the work they were to perform. Their charges were sufficiently exorbitant; but some abatements being made, the commodore at last contracted with them for the whole.

By the 3d of March, the *Centurion* was once more in a state fit for resistance or attack, to the great joy of the crew, who began to be apprehensive that the Spaniards would seize the opportunity of their defenceless state, to destroy her. Indeed, it appeared, that the Governor of Manilla, hearing that the *Centurion* intended to careen in the *Tupa*, made a proposal to burn her while she lay there; and it was reported, that the scheme was actually offered to be carried into execution, on the payment of forty thousand dollars.

In the beginning of April, the ship being in every respect equipped and fit for sea, the Chinese, who had long been uneasy at their stay, at last pressed them to leave the port; and, to enforce this mandate, they prohibited any farther supplies of provisions. The commodore indeed had no desire to lose one day unnecessarily in this place: and having completed his water by the 19th, he weighed and stood to sea.

While he lay here, a few of his officers had been permitted to return in one of the English East India Company's ships; and he had engaged several new hands.

While in port, he had constantly given out, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; but when once fairly at sea, he summoned all his people on the quarter deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two expected

pected Manilla ships of that year; told them he could chuse a station where they could not fail to find them; and added, that if they behaved with their usual spirit, they might be sure of securing one, if not both.

This address was received with loud applause, and they declared their resolution to succeed, or perish in the attempt. All their hopes were again revived of returning home laden with the spoils of the enemy.

On the 20th of May they discovered Cape Espiritu Santo, near which they were to cruise; but knowing that sentinels were placed there to make signals to the Acapulco ship, when she first falls in with land, the commodore tacked and kept his distance, at the same time ordering the top gallant sails to be taken in, the better to prevent being discovered. But notwithstanding all his care, it has since appeared that he was seen from land, and intelligence conveyed to Manilla, where preparations were made to attack him on his station.

Having got into the cruising latitude, the men, full of zeal to distinguish themselves, were daily exercised in the use of small and great guns; and every step was taken to secure a favourable issue to the expected contest.

As the month of June advanced, their impatience increased; and on the last day of that month, the certainty of seeing the galleons was dwindled down to a mere possibility. However, next day, at sun-rise, a sail was descried from the mast head; and it is needless to depict the joy which brightened every face.

The Centurion immediately stood towards her, and, to the commodore's surprise, the galleon did not change her course, but bore down upon him.

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This made him at first suppose that she took him for a consort; but he was afterwards undeceived.

At one in the afternoon they were within gunshot of each other, when Anson, perceiving that the Spaniards had not yet finished clearing their ship for action, immediately ordered some of the chace guns to be fired, to interrupt them in their engagements. The galleon returned the fire, and on the Centurion's making some dispositions for boarding, the Spaniards, by way of bravado, did the same. They were now within pistol shot, when the engagement commenced in earnest; nor did the galleon shew the least symptom of fear. Soon after, the mats, with which she had stuffed her netting, taking fire, and blazing violently, filled the enemy with the utmost terror, and also alarmed the commodore, lest she should be consumed. The Spaniards, however, at last, tumbled both the flaming netting and mats into the sea, to escape the horrors of a general conflagration.

This accident had a fatal effect on the galleon's crew, and in the mean while, the English plying them from their tops with small arms, which did amazing execution, killing or wounding most of the officers, they began to fall into confusion and to desert their quarters. The officers having ineffectually tried to rally the intimidated and sinking crew, at last submitted. But on the whole, it has seldom been found, that the Spaniards displayed more intrepidity, or combated with more perseverance than on this occasion.

This valuable prize, which was to recompense all their toils, was named the *Nuestra Signora de Cabadonga*, commanded by Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese officer of skill and courage. She carried five hundred and fifty men, and thirty-six

ty-six guns mounted for action, besides patereroes. In the action she had sixty-seven men killed and eighty-four wounded; while the Centurion only lost two, and had a lieutenant and sixteen men wounded, all of whom recovered, save one. The property on board the prize, amounted to a million and a half of dollars. It is impossible to describe the transports of the English, when they saw themselves masters of this ship: it was heightened by the reflection on their former disappointments.

At this very moment of exultation, the commodore was secretly informed by one of the lieutenants, that the Centurion was on fire near the powder room. Without apparent emotion, he gave orders for preventing the dreadful catastrophe, and providentially the fire was got under without material damage.

All the Spanish prisoners, except such as were thought necessary to assist in the navigation of the galleon, being sent on board the Centurion, from them the commodore learned that the other Manilla ship, whose departure he had last year delayed, sailed at an earlier season than usual, and was probably safe in Manilla before this time.

The treasure was secured on board the Centurion; but the prisoners being double the number of the English, it was resolved to return to the River Canton; and on the 11th of July, they anchored off Macao. It was now found that the treasure taken from the Spaniards, did not amount to less than four hundred thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of the ships and goods either burned or destroyed, which might be calculated at six hundred thousand more. Hence the aggregate loss to the enemy could not be less than a million from this expedition.

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While the Centurion lay at anchor without the Bocca Tigris, a messenger arrived from the mandarin who commanded the forts, to make the usual enquiries. Anson explained himself without equivocation, and avowed that he was going into Canton river, to shelter himself from the approaching hurricanes, after which he would sail for England. The Chinese officer, on learning his force, appeared terrified, and remarked, that no ships ever came into Canton river armed in that manner; and it is supposed, that he ordered the pilot not to conduct the commodore through the straits.

Anson, however, was determined not to expose his ship to danger by delay: he insisted on the pilot carrying him through the Bocca Tigris in safety, on pain of being immediately hung up. Terrified by these threats, he complied; but neither the mandarin, who commanded the forts that guarded the passage, nor the pilot who had involuntarily yielded his assistance, escaped the resentment of the government. The commodore afterwards rewarded the latter, as a recompence for the punishment inflicted on him by his countrymen.

On the 16th of July, Anson sent his second lieutenant to Canton, with a letter to the viceroy, explaining the reason of putting his into port, and announcing an intended visit to his excellency. This officer was civilly received, and a promise was made of an early answer.

Meanwhile the commodore had permitted some of the officers of the galleon to visit Canton, who were strictly examined by the regency, and the answers they gave, tended to heighten Anson in the opinion of the Chinese. In a word, though ene-
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mies and prisoners, they acted like men of honour, and paid many due compliments to the humanity and bravery of their captors.

On the 20th, an order arrived from the viceroy of Canton, for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to convey the ships a little farther up the river. Excuses were also made why the viceroy could not immediately receive the commodore.

The mandarins now began to enter on the subject of port duties; but the commodore gave them peremptorily to understand, that as he did not come for the purpose of trade, he would submit to none; nor was it usual for men of war to make acknowledgments for anchoring in any port.

The mandarins next solicited the release of the prisoners on board the galleon, lest it should involve the Chinese in disputes with the Spaniards. Anson, though extremely desirous to get rid of them, to enhance the favour, raised some difficulties; but at last suffered himself to be prevailed on to declare that, out of compliment to the Viceroy of Canton, they should be liberated as soon as he pleased to send boats to convey them. In a few days two Chinese junks took them up; and he felt happy in being thus honourably freed from such an encumbrance.

The chicanery and artifice of the Chinese displayed itself on a variety of occasions, too numerous to particularize; and the spirit with which this was sometimes resented, had nearly embroiled the commodore with them; but his prudent firmness always brought him off, though not without some sacrifices on the score of expence.

Towards the end of September, Anson, finding that he was deceived by those who had contracted to supply him with sea stores, and that the vice-

roy had not invited him to an interview, according to his promise, determined to proceed to Canton. His boat's crew, to the number of eighteen, were dressed in scarlet jackets, and blue silk waistcoats, trimmed. They had silver buttons on their clothes, and badges of the same metal on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended that the payment of the customary duties might be insisted on, before a licence could be obtained to victual the ship, and the commodore was determined never to sanction such an imposition, he appointed Mr. Brett to be captain in his absence, directing him, in case any dispute should arise at Canton on account of the duties, to destroy the Centurion's prize, and then, repassing the Bocca Tigris, to wait till farther orders.

On the 13th of October, the commodore set out for Canton in his own barge, attended by all the supercargoes belonging to the English, Danish, and Swedish ships, and a numerous retinue in boats. On his arrival, he was visited by the principal Chinese merchants, who again promised to exert themselves to second his views; but, after various disappointments, he addressed another letter to the viceroy, which he committed to a mandarin to deliver, after he had translated it into Chinese.

Two days after the letter was dispatched, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton. Anson, on the first alarm, repaired to the spot to assist the Chinese, attended by his officers and boat's crew. It appeared to have begun in a sailor's shed, and by the flightiness of the buildings and the timid awkwardness of the people, was rapidly advancing. The commodore observing it was running along a wooden cornice, which would

would have soon communicated the conflagration to a great distance, ordered his men to begin with pulling the cornice down; but being informed that, unless they acted by the order of a mandarin, he would be made responsible for what was demolished; he dismissed his attendants, with directions to assist the English factory in securing their treasure and effects, in case the fire should approach sufficiently near to endanger them.

All this while the Chinese contented themselves with viewing the progress of the flame, and now and then presenting little idols near it, as if to check its devastation. At last, a mandarin arrived, attended by four or five hundred firemen, who made some feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses; but by this time the fire had spread prodigiously among the merchants warehouses; and the Chinese firemen being destitute both of skill and spirit, nothing less than a general conflagration of the whole city was expected.

In this extremity the viceroy himself went thither, and by a message, entreated the commodore to yield his assistance, giving him at the same time a discretionary power to act according to the best of his judgment. On this, Anson a second time repaired to the scene of conflagration with about forty of his people, who exerted themselves in such an extraordinary manner as was altogether unparalleled in that country. Cool amidst danger, and rather animated than deterred by the flames, they shewed such resolution and activity, that the progress of the fire was soon stopped, and the whole was quickly extinguished.

The Chinese firemen stood astonished spectators of the intrepidity of the English, who, notwithstanding their daring spirit, escaped with a few inconsiderable burns and bruises.

By this fire, one hundred shops and eleven streets full of warehouses were consumed, so that the damage amounted to an amazing sum. One Chinese merchant, well known to the English, was said to have lost near two hundred thousand pounds sterling. The violence of the conflagration was increased by large quantities of camphor in the warehouses, which produced a column of white flame that blazed to a prodigious height.

While the fire was likely to become general, some of the most considerable merchants had applied to the commodore for one of his soldiers, as they styled his boat's crew, to guard their property, which they dreaded being plundered by the populace. Their request was granted; and to the honour of the sailors, their fidelity and diligence were universally applauded.

The English character now stood high in Canton. Next morning many of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore, and frankly confessed that to him they were indebted for the preservation of the city. Soon after the viceroy fixed his audience for the 30th of November; and to the signal services performed by Mr. Anson and his people, this condescension was probably owing.

The commodore now began to prepare to wait on the viceroy, and was full of pleasing presages that his business would be favourably adjusted. He engaged a Mr. Flint to act as his interpreter in the conference, a man who had spent the greatest part of his life in China, spoke the language

guage with facility, and was of the most essential service to the English on many occasions.

On the morning of the day appointed, a mandarin came to inform the commodore, that the viceroy expected him, and was ready; on which the procession immediately set out. On entering the outer gate of the city, two hundred foldiers conducted the commodore and retinue, with much parade, to the palace, where ten thousand men were drawn up under arms, all new clothed for the occasion. Anson and his party having passed through the middle of them, was conducted to the great hall of audience, where the viceroy was seated under a rich canopy, with a numerous council of mandarins attending him. The commodore was placed the third from the viceroy, the chiefs of the law and treasury, who in China take precedence of all military officers, being immediately above him.

Anson now began, through his interpreter, to enumerate the difficulties he had found in obtaining an audience, the delays and insincerity he had experienced from the natives, and his having been obliged at last to send his own officer to his excellency's gate with a letter. The viceroy here interrupting the interpreter, bid him assure the commodore, that the first knowledge he had of his being at Canton, was derived from that letter. The commodore then went on to state the grievances suffered by the English East India Company, from the impositions of merchants and customhouse officers; and at last concluded with a request, that he might be favoured with a licence to ship off his own provisions and stores, as he intended speedily to sail for England.

The viceroy promised that the licence should be immediately issued, and that the following day every thing should be ordered on board. After some general conversation and thanking the commodore for his important services in saving the city from being consumed, he wished him a good voyage, and the conference broke up.

No sooner had the commodore left the hall of audience, than he was importuned to partake of an entertainment in an adjoining apartment; but finding that the viceroy did not intend to honour him with his presence, he declined the invitation, and retired in the same manner as he came; receiving a salute of three guns as he left the city.

To his great satisfaction, Anson had now finished his provision business, and established an authentic precedent by which his majesty's ships of war will for the future be exempted from port duties throughout the Chinese dominions.

The provisions arriving according to the viceroy's promise, the commodore embarked to go on board his ship, and such expedition was used to equip her for sea, that they had reached Macao by the 12th of December. Here Anson sold the galleon for six thousand dollars; and on the 15th the Centurion got under sail, and after wooding and watering at Prince's Island, they stood for the Cape of Good Hope, where they anchored on the 11th of March.

The commodore staid here till the beginning of April, to refresh his crew, highly delighted with the picturesque appearance of the country, the salubrity of the air, and the extraordinary fertility of the place. Leaving the Cape, they came in sight of St. Helena on the 19th of April, but

but did not land. Nothing worthy of notice occurred till the 10th of June, when they fell in with an English ship, which gave them the first intelligence of a French war; and though a considerable fleet belonging to that nation was then cruising in the mouth of the Channel, the Centurion had the good fortune to pass them in a fog.

On the 15th of the same month, to the inexpressible joy of the crew and also of the nation, they cast anchor at Spithead; and thus, after a series of the most extraordinary adventures and dreadful scenes of distress, they completed the circumnavigation of the globe in three years and nine months.

The treasures taken by the Centurion were conveyed in many waggons, adorned with Spanish flags, through the streets of London to the Tower, attended by the loud acclamations of the multitude. The commodore was loaded with honours; and the humblest sailor who survived the dangers and calamities of the voyage, had not only the satisfaction of contributing to the humiliation of the enemies of his country, but of also being enriched with their spoils.

It has already been seen that the Spaniards had fitted out a squadron to counteract the designs of the English. The fate of that armament is necessarily connected with the history of this voyage: it presents features of corresponding distress, unbrightened by ultimate success.

The squadron destined by the Spaniards to watch the motions of Commodore Anson, consisted of the *Asia* of sixty-six guns, and seven hundred men, commanded by Admiral Don Joseph Pizarro; the *Guipuscoa* of seventy-four guns, and seven

seven hundred men ; the *Hermione* of fifty-four guns, and five hundred men ; the *Esperanza* of fifty guns, and three hundred and fifty men ; the *St. Estevan* of forty guns, and three hundred and fifty men, and the *Petache* of twenty guns. They had likewise on board an old Spanish regiment of infantry. This formidable equipment, which, in point of strength, was far superior to Anson's, having cruised some days to the leeward of *Madeira*, before he arrived at that island, steered for the *River Plate* ; and anchored in *Maldonada Bay* on the 5th of January 1741.

Pizarro immediately sent to *Buenos Ayres* for a supply of provisions ; but receiving intelligence of Anson's arrival at *St. Catharine's*, from the treacherous governor of that place, resolved to get before him ; and in consequence left the port without waiting for the expected supplies. Notwithstanding his precipitate departure, the English had got the start of him by four days ; and soon after the *Pearl* being separated from the rest, fell in with Pizarro's fleet, and narrowly escaped being captured.

Towards the close of February, the Spaniards endeavoured to double *Cape Horn* ; but a violent storm overtaking them, the *Guipuscoa*, the *Hermione*, and the *Esperanza* were separated from the admiral. The *Hermione* was supposed to have foundered, as she never was heard of more ; and the *Guipuscoa* was run ashore, and sunk on the coast of *Brasil*.

The calamities they now suffered are almost incredible. In addition to the ills the English had undergone, they had to struggle with famine ; for having only four months provisions on board when they left *Spain*, and rashly leaving
the

the River Plate two days before a supply of provisions could arrive, they were totally unprovided for such a tedious navigation. To such a deplorable condition were they reduced, that ship rats, when they could be caught, sold for four dollars a piece; and a sailor who died on board, had his death concealed for some days by his own brother, who lay in his hammock, merely to obtain the dead man's allowance of provisions.

In this dreadful situation they were alarmed, if their horrors were capable of augmentation, with the discovery of a conspiracy on board the admiral's ship, which arose from the hunger they endured, which had stimulated one part to attempt the massacre of the rest, in order to increase their allowance. The designs of the conspirators were fortunately discovered, just as they were ripe for execution, and some of the ringleaders suffered death. But though this conspiracy was suppressed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation, but every day grew more destructive.

By the complicated ills of disease, fatigue, and famine, the three ships which escaped, lost the greatest part of their men; and of the entire regiment of foot, only fifty-eight were now alive.

Pizarro being in want of all kinds of supplies, and unable to procure any from the neighbouring settlements, dispatched an advice boat with a letter of credit, to purchase what was absolutely requisite, from the Portuguese at Rio Janeiro; and at the same time sent an express over land to the Viceroy of Peru, requesting a remittance from the royal chest at Lima, to enable him to attempt the passage to the South Seas a second time, and to traverse the views of the English. The viceroy, however, remitted him no more than one half that

that was solicited; and the Portuguese at Rio Janeiro, though they supplied him with some naval stores, could neither furnish masts nor yards.

Notwithstanding these disappointments, Pizarro found means to refit the *Asia* and the *St. Estevan*, and with these he was proceeding to double Cape Horn, when the latter vessel, in sailing down the River Plate, ran on a shoal, and received such damage, that she was obliged to be broke up. The admiral was now singly to attempt this dangerous navigation, when the *Asia* lost her masts, and was a second time obliged to abandon her design.

As the flag ship had greatly suffered, the *Esperanza* was ordered to be refitted, and the command was given to Mindinuetta, who had been captain of the *Guipuscoa*. This officer sailed in November 1742, and arrived safe on the coast of Chili, where he was met by Pizarro, who had passed over land.

It must here be observed, that in the express which had been dispatched to the Viceroy of Peru, to obtain a remittance, it had been intimated that it was possible a part of the English squadron might reach the South Seas, and therefore, it would be advisable for his excellency to send what ships he could to intercept them singly, before they could reach any port. In consequence of this advice, four ships of considerable force were sent from Callao, which were to have joined Pizarro, on his arrival on the coast of Chili. Three of these were stationed off Conception: the other was dispatched to Juan Fernandez, where she cruised till within a few days of Commodore Anson's arrival; but despairing of finding him, and thinking it was impossible he could
keep

keep the sea so long, she quitted that station, and returned to Callao. Fortune then favoured the English; and the delays they met with, were the very means of their preservation.

But to return. Pizarro had not yet filled up the measure of his calamities. In 1745 he returned from Chili to Buenos Ayres, accompanied by Mindinuetta; when they found the *Asia* at Monte Vedis, which they had left nearly three years before, and resolved to return to Europe. They refitted her in the best manner possible; and to supply the deficiency of hands, they pressed many of the inhabitants of the place, some Portuguese smugglers, and a party of Indians, among whom was a chief, named Orellana.

With this motley and disaffected crew, Pizarro set sail about the beginning of November, 1745; having on board some English prisoners, whom the native Spaniards treated with much severity, as well as the forced companions of their voyage. Orellana suffered every insult and cruelty that malice could inflict, merely to shew superiority; this he bore with apparent resignation, while revenge rankled in his breast. He cultivated an intimacy with such of the English prisoners as could speak Spanish, a language he used with fluency, and founding them at a distance, to learn their sentiments which were not sufficiently vindictive to draw out his confidence, he determined to trust to the resolution of ten faithful followers alone, of his own people, to emancipate himself and them from the slavery of their present condition.

Revenge is ingenious in executing its barbarous designs. Orellana had furnished himself and adherents with sharp pointed knives; and at their

leisure hours they had secretly cut out thongs from raw hides, which they armed with double headed shot. This, when swung round the head, was a dangerous and destructive weapon, and in its use the Indians were very expert.

Irritated by reiterated indignities and injuries, he now hastened to seek redress. One evening, as many of the principal officers were enjoying the freshness of night air on deck, Orellana and his confederates having prepared their weapons, poured in a body to the door of the great cabin; for which they were reprimanded, and ordered to be gone. Immediately, as had been concerted, two Indians drew off to each gang way, when the chief and six others set up the most horrid war cry, and brandishing their double headed shot in one hand, while they held their drawn knives in the other, in an instant they laid forty Spaniards at their feet, twenty of whom were killed on the spot.

The confusion now spread from this unexpected attack is not to be described: many of the officers rushed into the great cabin, where they barricaded the door and extinguished the lights; some concealed themselves among the cattle; while others secured themselves in the tops or rigging. All were afraid to resist, or met with death in the attempt.

Thus with an intrepidity, perhaps unparalleled, did these eleven Indians, almost in an instant, possess themselves of the quarter deck of a ship carrying five hundred men and sixty-six guns. Meanwhile the admiral and his officers in the cabin, being panic struck, were long incapable of forming any project for their deliverance. The yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, the

the darkness of the night, and the uncertainty of the extent of the conspiracy, filled the minds of the Spaniards with horror, and drove some of them to the desperate resolution of throwing themselves into the sea, rather than perish by the hands of enraged conspirators.

The Indians having cleared the quarter deck, the tumult in a great measure subsided; for those who escaped were kept silent by their fears. At length Pizarro, having found means to converse through the windows and port holes with some of his crew, found, to his great satisfaction, that the English, whom he dreaded most, were all safe below and quiet; and it was gradually discovered that the Indians alone were concerned in the mutiny.

This information recalled the resolution of Pizarro and his officers. They resolved to attack the Indians immediately, before the disaffected could recover their surprise and join them; and arming themselves with pistols, the only weapons within their reach, they slightly opened the cabin door, and fired several shot among the conspirators, without effect. At last Mindinuetta had the good fortune to shoot Orellana dead on the spot, when his faithful companions abandoning all thoughts of farther resistance, instantly leaped into the sea, and perished to a man.

Thus this singular insurrection was quelled, and the quarter deck regained, after it had been two hours in the possession of this intrepid, but unfortunate chief and his countrymen.

Pizarro now continued his voyage without interruption, and arrived on the coast of Galicia, in the beginning of 1746, after having been absent from Europe considerably more than four

years. By this expedition, the Spaniards lost nearly as much as by the successes of Anson; and on the whole, the policy of attacking Spain in the same quarter in any future wars, was confirmed beyond a doubt, and the event will furnish an example to latest posterity.

VOYAGE

VOYAGE OF
DON GEORGE JUAN
AND
DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA
TO
South America.

THE Spaniards are by no means a literary nation, and as far as an intimate knowledge of their American settlements extends; foreigners, from want of opportunity, must be confessedly deficient. It is therefore with pleasure we enter on the present voyage, not less distinguished for accuracy and fidelity, than for the abilities of the writer, and the ample scope his situation gave him for enquiry and remark.

The expedition, which gave rise to this narrative, was undertaken by the command of the King of Spain, and the original was published at Madrid by his direction. In order to determine the true figure of the earth, it was a desideratum to measure a degree of the meridian near the equator. For this purpose, Louis XV. had applied

ed to the Spanish monarch to be permitted to send some of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris to Quito, which is situated near the equator, that they might make the necessary observations for solving a problem of such importance to the sciences in general, and to those of geography and navigation in particular. The King of Spain, not only yielding to this honourable solicitation, but animated with a desire of sharing in the glory of so noble a design, appointed Don George Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa, both captains in the Spanish navy, and very able mathematicians, to accompany the French delegates to Quito, and to assist them in an undertaking at once arduous and important.

These gentlemen embarked at Cadiz on the 26th of May 1735 ; and after some impediments from contrary winds, without any other material occurrence, came to an anchor in Carthagena Bay, on the 9th of July.

The city of Carthagena stands in 10 deg. 25 min. $48\frac{1}{2}$ sec. north latitude, and in the longitude of 282 deg. 28 min. 36 sec. from the meridian of Paris. The variation of the needle, they also, from several observations, found to be eight degrees easterly.

The advantageous situation of Carthagena, the extent and security of its bay, and the great share it attained of the commerce of that southern continent, soon caused it to be erected into a city ; and the same circumstance contributed to its preservation and increase, so that it soon became the most esteemed settlement and staple of the Spaniards ; but, at the same time, these advantages also drew on it the hostilities of foreigners, who, thirsting after its riches, or induced by the importance

portance of the place itself, have several times taken and plundered it.

The city is situated on a sandy island, which, forming a narrow passage on the south-west, opens a communication with that part called Tierra Bomba, as far as Boca Chica. The land is so narrow on the north side, that, originally, the distance from sea to sea was only thirty-five fathoms; but afterwards enlarging, forms another island on this side; and the whole city is, excepting these two places, which are very narrow, entirely surrounded by the sea. Eastward, it communicates by means of a wooden bridge: the fortifications, both of the city and suburbs, are constructed in the modern form, and lined with free stone.

The city and suburbs of Carthagena are well laid out, the streets being straight, broad, uniform, and well paved. The houses are built of stone, except a few, which are of brick; but consist chiefly of only one story above the ground floor; the apartments, however, are well contrived.

All the houses have balconies and lattices of wood, as being more durable, in this climate, than iron, which is soon corroded and destroyed by the moisture and acrimonious quality of the nitrous air.

All the churches and convents are elegant and sufficiently capacious; but there appears something of poverty in the ornaments, and some of them want what even decency requires.

The jurisdiction of the government of Carthagena reaches eastward to the great River de la Magdalena, and along it southward, till winding away, it borders on the province of Antioguia: thence it stretches westward to the River of Darien;

rien ; and thence northward to the ocean, all along the coasts between the mouths of these two rivers. There is a tradition, that all these countries formerly abounded in gold, and some vestiges of the old mines of that metal are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Simiti, San Lucas, and Guamaco ; but they are now neglected, being, as imagined, exhausted. But what equally contributed to the riches of this country, was the trade it carried on with Choco and Darien ; from whence they brought, in exchange for this metal, the several manufactures of which they stood in need.

To the above circumstantial description of the city of Carthagena, it may not be amiss to add a short account of its inhabitants, which may be divided into different casts or tribes, who derive their origin from a coalition of whites, negroes, and Indians. It will, therefore, be necessary to treat of each particularly.

The whites may be divided into two classes, the Europeans and creoles, or whites born in the country. The former are commonly called chapitones, but are not numerous : most of them either return into Spain, after acquiring a competent fortune, or remove up into the inland provinces, in order to increase it. Those who are settled at Carthagena, carry on the whole trade of that place, and live in opulence, whilst the other inhabitants are indigent, and reduced to have recourse to mean and hard labour for subsistence. The families of the white creoles compose the landed interest ; some of them have large estates, and are highly respected, because their ancestors came into the country invested with honourable posts, bringing their families with them, when

when they settled here. Besides these, there are other whites, in mean circumstances, who, either owe their origin to Indian families, or, at least, to an intermarriage with them; so that there is some mixture in their blood: but when this is not discoverable by their colour, the conceit of being whites alleviates the pressure of every other calamity.

Among the other tribes, which are derived from an intermarriage of the whites with the negroes, the first are the mulattoes, so well known, that there is no necessity for saying any thing farther on this head. Next to these are the *tercerones*, produced from a white and a mulatto, with some approximation to the former, but not so near as to obliterate their origin. After these follow the *quarterones*, proceeding from a white and a *terceron*. The last are the *quinterones*, who owe their origin to a white and a *quarteron*. This is the last gradation, there being no visible difference between them and the whites, either in colour or features; nay, they are often even fairer than the Spaniards themselves. The children of a white and *quinteron* are also called Spaniards, and consider themselves as free from all taint of the negro race. Every person is so jealous of their tribe or cast, that if, through any inadvertence, without the least intention to affront, you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended.

Before they attain the class of the *quinterones*, there are several intervening circumstances which throw them back; for, between the mulatto and the negro, there is an intermediate race, which they call *sambos*, owing their origin to a mixture between one of these with an Indian, or among themselves.

themselves. They are also distinguished according to the casts their fathers were of. Betwixt the *tercerones* and the *mulattoes*, the *quarterones* and the *tercerones* are those called *tente en el ayre*, suspended in the air; because they neither advance nor recede. Children, whose parents are a *quarteron* or a *quinteron*, and a *mulatto* or *terceron*, are *salto atras*, retrogrades; because, instead of advancing toward being whites, they have gone backwards towards the negro race. All the children between a negro and a *quarteron*, are called *sambos de negro*, *de mulatto*, *de terceron*, &c.

These are the most known and common tribes or casts. There are, indeed, several others, proceeding from their intermarriages; but being so various, even they themselves cannot easily distinguish them.

These casts, from the *mulattoes*, all affect the Spanish dress, but wear very slight stuffs, on account of the heat of the climate. These are the mechanics of the city; the whites, whether *creoles* or *chapitones*, disdaining such mean occupations, follow nothing below merchandize. But it being impossible for all to succeed, great numbers, not being able to procure sufficient credit, become poor and miserable, from their aversion to those trades they follow in Europe; and, instead of the riches, which they flattered themselves with possessing in the Indies, they experience the most complicated wretchedness.

The class of negroes is divided into two parts, the free men and the slaves; the latter are employed in the farms and villages, and part in the city. Those in the city are obliged to perform the most laborious services, and pay out of their wages

wages a certain quota to their masters; subsisting themselves on the small remainder. The violence of the heat not permitting them to wear any clothes, their only covering is a small piece of cotton stuff about their waist; the female slaves go in the same manner. Some of these live at the farm houses, being married to the slaves who work there; while those in the city sell in the markets all kinds of eatables, and dry fruits, sweetmeats, cakes made of maize and cassava, and several other things about the streets. Those who have children sucking at their breasts, carry them on their shoulders, in order to have their arms at liberty; and when the infant is hungry, they give them the breast, either under the arm or over the shoulder, without taking them from their backs. This will, perhaps, appear incredible, but their breasts being left to grow, without any pressure on them, often hang down to their very waists.

In the house, the whole exercise of the ladies consists in sitting in their hammocks, and swinging themselves for air. This is so general a custom, that there is not a house without two or three, according to the number of the family. In these they pass the greater part of the day; and often men, as well as women, sleep in them, without minding the inconveniency of not stretching the body at full length.

Both sexes are observed to be possessed of a great share of wit and penetration, and also of a genius proper to excel in all kinds of mechanic arts. This is particularly conspicuous in those who apply themselves to literature, and who, at a tender age, shew a judgment and perspicacity, which, in other climates, is attained only by a long

long series of years, and the greatest application. This happy disposition continues till they are between twenty and thirty years of age, after which they generally decline as fast as they rose; and frequently, before they arrive at that age, when they should begin to reap the advantage of their studies, a natural indolence checks their farther progress, and they forsake the sciences, leaving the surprising effects of their capacity imperfect.

The principal cause of the short duration of such promising beginnings, and of the indolent turn so often seen in these bright geniuses is, doubtless, the want of proper objects for exercising their faculties, and the small hopes of being preferred to any post answerable to the pains they have taken: for, as there is in this country neither army nor navy, and the civil employments very few, it is not at all surprising, that the despair of making their fortunes by this method, should damp their ardor for excelling in the sciences, and plunge them into idleness, the sure forerunner of vice. The same is evident in the mechanic arts, wherein they early excel and speedily decline, from the causes already mentioned.

Charity is a virtue in which all the inhabitants of Carthagenæ, without exception, may be said particularly to excel; and did they not liberally exert it towards European strangers, who generally come hither, as they phrase it, to seek their fortune, they would often perish with sickness and poverty. This appears a subject of such importance, though well known to all who have visited this part of the world, that a word or two must be added on it, in order to undeceive those who, not contented with, perhaps, a competent
estate

estate in their own country, imagine that it is only setting their foot in the Indies, and their fortune is made *.

Those on board the galleons, who are called Pulizones, are men without employment, stock, or recommendation; who leave their country as fugitives, and, without licence from the officers, come to seek their fortune in a country where they are utterly unknown. These, after traversing the streets till they have nothing left to procure them lodging or food, are obliged to have recourse to the last extremity, the Franciscan Hospital, where they receive, not in a quantity sufficient to satisfy hunger, but barely to keep them alive, a kind of pap made of cassava, which, as the natives themselves will not eat it, the taste, to wretched mortals never used to such food, may be easily conceived. As this is their food, so their lodging is the entrance of the squares and the porticoes of churches, till their good fortune throws them in the way of hiring themselves to some trader going up the country, and who wants a servant: for the city merchants, standing in no need of them, shew no great countenance to these adventurers. Affected by the difference of the climate, aggravated by bad food, dejected and tortured by the entire disappointment of their romantic hopes, they fall into a thousand evils, which cannot well be represented; and among others, that distemper called, at Carthagena, Chapelanada, or the distemper of the Chapitones, without any other succour to fly to than Divine

* This equally applies to adventurers of all nations, in their respective colonial settlements, and well deserves the attention of the young and unexperienced.

Providence ; for none find admittance into the Hospital of St. Juan de Dios, but those who are able to pay ; and consequently poverty becomes an absolute exclusion. Now it is that the charity of these people becomes conspicuous. The negro and mulatto, and other free women, moved at their deplorable condition, carry them to their houses, and nurse them with the greatest care and affection. If any one dies, they bury him by the charity they procure, and even cause masses to be said for him. The general issue of this endearing benevolence is, that the chapitone, on his recovery, during the fervour of his gratitude, marries either his negro or mulatto benefactress, or one of her daughters ; and thus he is settled, but much more wretchedly than he could have been in his own country, though he had only his labour to subsist on.

The disinterestedness of these people is such, that their compassion toward the chapitones must not be imputed to the hopes of producing a marriage, it being very common for them to refuse offers with regard to themselves or their daughters, that their misery may not be perpetual ; but endeavour to find them a master, whom they may attend up the country, whither their inclination, or fairer prospects lead them.

Those who remain in the city, whether bound by one of the above marriages, or become watermen and labourers, or such like mean occupations, are so harassed with labour, and their wages so small, that their condition in their own country must have been miserable indeed, if they have not reason to regret their quitting it. And the height of their enjoyment, after toiling all day and part of the night, is to regale themselves with

with some bananas, a cake of maize, or casava, which serves for bread, and a slice of casajo, or hung beef; without ever tasting any wheat bread during the whole year.

Others, and not a few, equally unfortunate with the former, retire to some small farm house, where, in a bujio, or straw hut, they live little different from beasts, cultivating, in a very small spot, such vegetables as are at hand, and subsisting on the sale of them.

Among the reigning customs here, some are very different from those of Spain, or the most known parts of Europe. The principal of these are the use of brandy, cocoa, honey, sweetmeats, and smoking tobacco, which shall be taken notice of in their proper places.

The use of brandy is so common, that the most regular and sober persons, of all degrees, never omit drinking a glass of it every morning about eleven o'clock, alleging that this spirit strengthens the stomach, weakened by copious and constant perspiration, and sharpens the appetite. *Hacer las once*, to do the eleven, that is, to drink a glass of brandy, is the common phrase. This custom, not esteemed pernicious by these people, when used with moderation, has degenerated into vice; many being so fond of it, that during the whole day, they do nothing but *hacer las once*.

Chocolate, here known only by the name of cocoa, is so common, that there is not a negro slave but constantly allows himself a regale of it after breakfast; and the negro women sell it ready made about the streets, at the rate of five farthings sterling for a dish. This is, however, so far from being all cocoa, that the principal ingredient is maize; but that used by the better

fort is neat, and worked as in Spain. This they constantly repeat an hour after dinner, but never use it fasting, or without eating something with it. They also make a great use of sweetmeats and honey; never so much as drinking a glass of water without previously eating some sweetmeats. Honey is often preferred as the sweeter, to preserves or other sweetmeats, either wet or dry.

Their sweetmeats are eaten with wheat bread, which they use only with these and chocolate; the honey they spread on casava cakes.

The passion for smoking is no less universal, prevailing among persons of all ranks in both sexes. The ladies, and other white women, smoke only in their houses, a decency not observed either by the women of the other casts, nor by the men in general, who regard neither time nor place. The manner of using it is, by slender rolls composed of the leaves of that plant; and the women have a particular method of inhaling the smoke. They put the lighted part of the roll into their mouths, and there continue it a long time, without its being quenched, or the fire incommoding them. A compliment paid to those for whom they profess an intimacy and esteem, is to light their tobacco for them, and to hand it around to those who visit them. To refuse the offer would be a mark of rudeness not easily digested; and, accordingly, they are very cautious of paying this compliment to any but those whom they previously know to be used to tobacco.

One of the most favourite amusements of the natives here, is a ball, or fandango, after the manner of the country. And these are the distinguished rejoicings on festivals and remarkable days. These diversions, in houses of distinction,
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are conducted in a very regular manner; they open with Spanish dances, and are succeeded by those of the country, which are not without spirit and gracefulness.

The fandangos, or balls of the populace, consist principally in drinking brandy and wine, intermixed with indecent and scandalous motions and gestures; and these continual rounds of drinking soon give rise to quarrels, which often bring on misfortunes. When any strangers of rank visit the city, they are generally at the expence of these balls, and as the entrance is free to all, and no want of liquor, they need give themselves no concern about the want of company.

Their burials and mournings are also something singular, as in this particular they endeavour to display their grandeur and dignity, too often at the expence of their tranquillity. If the deceased be a person of condition, his body is placed on a pompous catafalco, erected on the principal apartment of the house, amidst a blaze of tapers. In this manner the corpse lies twenty-four hours, or longer, for the acquaintance of the family to visit it at all hours; and likewise, the lower class of women, among whom it is a custom to come and lament the deceased. The funeral, also, is accompanied with the like noisy lamentations; and even after the corpse is deposited in the grave, the mourning is continued in the house for nine days.

The French mathematicians arrived at Carthage on the 16th of November 1735, where they were joined by the Spanish artists; and on the 24th, they all embarked on board a French frigate for Porto Bello. The passage was very short and pleasant; so that on the 29th of the same month,

month, they came to an anchor in Porto Bello harbour.

The town of St. Philip de Porto Bello, according to their observations, stands in 9 deg. 34 min. 35 sec. north latitude. This harbour was discovered on the 2d of November 1502, by Christopher Columbus, who was so charmed with its extent, depth, and security, that he gave it the name of Porto Bello, or the Fine Harbour.

The town stands near the sea, on the declivity of a mountain surrounding the whole harbour. Many of the houses are built with wood, but in some the first story is of stone, and the remainder of wood: they are about one hundred and thirty in number, and most of them large and spacious. It is under the jurisdiction of a governor, with the title of lieutenant-general, under the President of Panama. At the east end of the town is a quarter called Guinea; because there all the negroes, whether slaves or free, have their habitations. This quarter is much crowded, when the galleons are in the harbour, most of the inhabitants of the town entirely quitting their houses at that season, for the advantage of letting them.

In a large track between the town and Gloria Castle, barracks are erected, and principally filled with the ships crews, who keep stalls of sweetmeats, and other kinds of eatables, brought from Spain. But after the conclusion of the fair, when the ships are sailed, all those buildings are taken down, and the town returns to its former tranquillity and emptiness.

The Harbour of Porto Bello is extremely commodious for all sorts of ships or vessels; and, though its entrance is very wide, it is well defended by Fort St. Philip de todo Fierro. It
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stands on the north point of the entrance, which is about six hundred fathoms broad; but the south side being full of ridges of rocks, extending to some distance from the shore, a ship is obliged to stand to the north, through the deepest part of the channel, which lies in the middle of the entrance, and thus continues in a straight direction.

On the south side of the harbour, and opposite to the anchoring place, is a large castle, called Santa Jago de la Gloria; to the east of which, at the distance of about a hundred fathoms, begins the town, having before it a point of land projecting into the harbour. On this point stood a small fort, called St. Jerom, within ten toises of the houses. All these were demolished by Admiral Vernon, who, in 1739, made himself master of this port.

Among the mountains, which surround the whole Harbour of Porto Bello, beginning from St. Philip de todo Fierro, or the Iron Castle, and without any decrease of height, extending to the opposite point, one is particularly remarkable by its superior altitude, as if designed for the barometer of the country, by foretelling every change of weather. This mountain, distinguished by the name of Capiro, stands at the utmost extremity of the harbour, in the road to Panama.

Its top is always covered with clouds of a density and darkness seldom seen in this atmosphere; and from these, which are called the capillo, or cap, has possibly been corruptly formed the name of Monte Capiro. When these clouds thicken, increase their blackness, and sink below their usual station, it is a sure sign of a tempest: while, on the other hand, their clearness and ascent as

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certainly indicate the approach of fair weather. It must, however, be remembered, that these changes are very frequent, and almost instantaneous.

The jurisdiction of the lieutenant-general governor of Porto Bello is limited to the town and the forts; the neighbouring country, over which it might be extended, being full of mountains, covered with impenetrable forests, except a few valleys, in which are thinly scattered some small farms.

The inclemency of the climate of Porto Bello is sufficiently known all over Europe. Not only strangers who come thither are affected by it, but even the natives themselves suffer in various manners. It destroys the vigour of nature, and often untimely cuts the thread of life. The heat is excessive, being augmented by the situation of the town, which is surrounded with high mountains, without any interval for the winds, whereby it might be refreshed. The trees on these mountains stand so thick as to intercept the rays of the sun; and consequently hinder them from drying the earth under them: hence copious exhalations form large clouds, which precipitate themselves in violent torrents of rain. But these are no sooner over, than the sun breaks forth afresh, and shines with his former splendor; though scarcely has the activity of his rays dried the surface of the ground, till the atmosphere is again clouded by another collection of thick vapours, and the sun again concealed: the night is also subject to the same vicissitudes.

These torrents of rain are accompanied with such tempests of thunder and lightning, as must daunt the most resolute.

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This continual inclemency, added to the fatigue of the seamen in unloading the ships, renders them weak and faint; and they, in order to recruit their spirits, have recourse to brandy, of which there is, on these occasions, an incredible consumption. The excessive labour, immoderate drink, and the inclemency and unhealthfulness of the climate must jointly destroy the best constitutions, and produce those deleterious diseases so common in this country. But it is not the seamen alone who are subject to these diseases; others, who are strangers to the seas, and not concerned in the fatigues, are also attacked by them; and, consequently, is a sufficient demonstration, that the other two are only collateral, though they tend both to spread and inflame the distemper. On some occasions, physicians have been sent for from Carthagena, as being supposed to be better acquainted with the properest methods of curing the distempers of this country, and, consequently, more able to recover the seamen: but experience has shewn, that this intention has been so little answered, that the galleons, or other European ships, which stay any time here, seldom leave it without burying half, or at least one-third, of their men; and hence this city has, with too much reason, been termed the grave of the Spaniards; but it may, with much greater propriety, be applied to those of other nations who visit it.

The number of the inhabitants of Porto Bello, by reason of its smallness, and the inclemency of its climate, is very inconsiderable, and the greatest part of these are negroes and mulattoes, there being scarce thirty white families; for all who, by commerce or their estates, are in easy circumstances,

stances, remove to Panama, so that those only stay at Porto Bello, whose employments oblige them to it.

Provisions are scarce at Porto Bello, and consequently dear, particularly during the time of the galleons and the fair, when there is a necessity for a supply from Carthagena and Panama. The only thing in plenty here is fish, of which there is a great variety, and very good. It also abounds in sugar-canes, so that the chacaras, or farm houses, if, indeed, they deserve that name, are built of them.

Fresh water pours down in streams from the mountains, some running without the town, and others crossing it. These waters are very light and digestive, and, in those who are used to them, good to create an appetite; qualities, which, in other countries, would be very valuable, but are here pernicious. This country seems so cursed by nature, that what is in itself good, becomes here destructive. For, doubtless, this water is too fine and active for the stomachs of the inhabitants; and thus produces dysenteries, the last stage of all other distempers, and which the patient very seldom survives. The rivulets, in their descent from the mountains, form little reservoirs or ponds, whose coolness is increased by the shade of the trees; and in these all the inhabitants of the town bathe themselves constantly, every day, at eleven in the morning; and the Europeans fail not to follow an example so pleasant and conducive to health.

As the forests almost border on the houses of the town, the tigers often make incursions into the streets, during the night, carrying off fowls, dogs, and other domestic creatures; and sometimes,

times, even boys have fallen a prey to them ; and it is certain, that ravenous beasts, after tasting human flesh, prefer it to all others. Beside the snares usually laid for them, the negroes and mulattoes are very dexterous in encountering the tiger ; and some, even on account of the slender reward, seek them in their retreats. The arms, in this onset, are only a lance of two or three yards in length, made of a very strong wood, with the point of the same hardened in the fire ; and a kind of cimeter, about three quarters of a yard in length. Thus armed, they stay till the creature makes an assault on the left arm, which holds the lance, and is wrapped up in a short cloak of bays. Sometimes the tiger, aware of the danger, seems to decline the combat ; but his antagonist provokes him with a slight touch of the lance, in order, while he is defending himself, to strike a sure blow : for as soon as the creature feels the lance, he grasps it with one of his paws, and with the other strikes at the arm which holds it. Then it is that the person nimbly aims a blow with his cimeter, which he kept concealed in the other hand, and hamstringing the tiger, which immediately draws back enraged, but returns to the charge ; when, receiving another such stroke, he is totally deprived of his most dangerous weapons, and rendered incapable of moving. After which the person kills him at his leisure ; and stripping off his skin, and cutting off the head, and the fore and hind feet, returns to the town, displaying those as the trophies of his victory.

Among the great variety of animals in this country, one of the most remarkable is the Perico Ligero, or Nimble Peter, an ironical name given it on account of its extreme sluggishness. This
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disgusting creature is well known to naturalists by the name of the sloth. When he moves, every effort is attended with such a plaintive, and at the same time so disagreeable, a cry, as at once produces pity and disgust. In this cry consists his whole defence; for, it being natural for him to fly at the first hostile approach of any beast, he makes, at every motion, such howlings as are even insupportable to his pursuer, who soon quits him, and even flies beyond the hearing of his horrid noise. Nor is it only during the time he is in motion that he makes these cries; he repeats them while he rests himself, continuing a long time motionless before he takes another march. The food of this creature is generally wild fruits; and when he can find none on the ground, he looks out for a tree well loaded, which, with a great deal of pains, he climbs; and, in order to save himself such another toilsome ascent, plucks off all the fruit, throwing them on the ground; and to avoid the pain of descending the tree, forms himself into a ball, and drops from the branches. At the foot of this tree he continues till all the fruit is consumed, never stirring till hunger forces him to seek again for food.

Serpents here are very numerous, and very destructive. Toads also swarm, not only in the damp and marshy places, as in other countries, but even in the streets, courts of houses, and all open places in general. Nothing can be imagined more dismal than their croakings, during the night, in all parts of the town, woods, and caverns of the mountains.

The town of Porto Bello, so thinly inhabited by reason of its noxious air, the scarcity of provisions,

visions, and the barrenness of its soil, becomes, at the time of the galleons, one of the most populous places in all South America. Its situation on the isthmus, betwixt the south and north sea, the goodness of its harbour, and its small distance from Panama, have given it the preference for the rendezvous of the joint commerce of Spain and Peru at its fair.

On advice being received at Carthagena, that the Peru fleet has unloaded at Panama, the galleons make the best of their way to Porto Bello, in order to avoid the distempers which have their source from idleness. The concourse of people on this occasion is such, as to raise the rent of lodgings to an excessive degree; a middling chamber, with a closet, lets, during the fair, for a thousand crowns, and some large houses for four, five, or six thousand.

As soon as the ships are moored in the harbour, a square tent, covered with the ship's sails, is erected for receiving the cargo; at the landing of which the proprietors of the goods are present, in order to claim their own bales. These are drawn on sledges to their respective places, by the crew of every ship.

While the seamen and European traders are thus employed, the land is covered with droves of mules from Panama, loaded with chests of gold and silver, on account of the merchants of Peru: yet, notwithstanding all this hurry and confusion, no theft, loss, or disturbance, is ever known. He who has seen Porto Bello at other times, solitary, poor, and a perpetual silence reigning every where, the harbour quite empty, and every place wearing a melancholy aspect; must be filled with astonishment at the sudden change, to see the
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bustling multitudes, every house crowded, the square and streets encumbered with bales, and chests of gold and silver, and the harbour full of ships and vessels. In short, he will see a spot, at other times detested for its deleterious qualities, become the staple of the riches of the old and new world, and the scene of one of the most considerable branches of commerce in the whole earth.

Soon after the Spanish and French mathematicians arrived at Porto Bello, they sent advice of it to the President of Panama, requesting him to send some of the vessels used in the navigation of the River Chagre, to carry them to Panama; as their instruments rendered it impossible for them to travel through the narrow craggy roads leading from Porto Bello to that city. He readily complied with their request, and immediately dispatched two vessels to Porto Bello; on board which they all embarked on the 22d of December, and rowed out of Porto Bello Harbour, and at four in the evening, landed at the custom-house, at the mouth of the River Chagre.

This river has its source in the mountains near the town of Cruces. Its entrance at the north sea is defended by a fort, situated on a steep rock near the sea shore, on the east side of the river. About twenty yards from this fort is the town of San Lorenzo de Chagres.

Perhaps nothing can excel the prospects which the rivers of this country exhibit. The most fertile imagination of a painter can never equal the magnificence of the rural landscapes which are here to be seen. The groves, which shade the plains, and extend their branches to the river, are inhabited by an infinite variety of creatures.

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The different species of monkeys, skipping in troops from tree to tree, hanging from the branches; in other places six or eight of them linked together, in order to pass a river; the dams with their young on their shoulders, throwing themselves into odd postures; and making a thousand grimaces, will perhaps appear fictitious to those who have never seen them. But if the birds be added, our reason for admiration will be greatly increased: for here is an amazing abundance, whose plumage glitters with all the colours of the rainbow.

On their arrival at Cruces, they were entertained by the alcalde of the town; and on the 27th set out on their journey to Panama, which they reached in the evening. They first waited on the president, who received them all in the most cordial and endearing manner.

Some indispensable preparations detained them longer at Panama than they expected. But at length every difficulty being surmounted, they embarked in the Bay of Panama, and directed their course towards the River Guiaquil.

Panama is built on an isthmus of the same name, the coast of which is washed by the South Sea. From the observations those mathematicians made here, the latitude of this city appears to be 8 deg. 5 min. $48\frac{1}{2}$ sec. north. With regard to its longitude it is still doubtful, whether it is on the east or west side of the meridian of Porto Bello.

The houses in general, when our artists visited this city, were of wood, of one story, and a tiled roof, but large; and their disposition, and the symmetry of their windows, made a handsome appearance: a few were of stone. The streets,

both of the city and suburbs, are straight, broad, and, for the most part paved.

In this city is a tribunal, or royal audience, in which the governor of Panama presides; and to this employment is annexed the captain-ship-general of Terra Firma, which is generally conferred on an officer of distinction, though his common title is that of President of Panama: it is a bishopric, and has also a court of inquisition appointed by the tribunal of inquisition at Carthagena.

The harbour of this city is formed in its road, by the shelter of several islands, particularly Isla de Naos, de Perico, and Flamencos; and the anchoring place is before the second, and thence called Perico. The ships here lie very safe, and their distance from the city is about two leagues and a half, or three leagues. Both the road and the whole coast abound in a great variety of excellent fish, among which are two kinds of oysters, one smaller than the other; but the smallest are much the best.

At the bottom of the sea are a great number of pearls; and the oysters in which they are found, are remarkably delicious. This kind of fishery is of great advantage to the inhabitants of all the islands in this bay.

The harbour of Perico is the rendezvous of the Peru fleet, during the time of the fair; and is never without barks loaded with provisions from the ports of Peru, and a great number of coasting vessels going from thence to Choco, and parts on the western coast of that kingdom.

The inhabitants of Panama greatly resemble those of Carthagena in their dispositions, except in their being more parsimonious, and more designing;

signing: the women imitate the dress of the ladies of Peru. They wear girdles, and five or six chaplets, or rows of fine beads, about their necks, together with two or more gold chains, having some relics appendant from them. Round their arms they wear bracelets of gold, and strings of pearls, corals, or beugles.

Provisions of all kinds are very dear in this city and its district, occasioned by the large quantity required, and the great distance which they are brought; but this is amply compensated by the multitude and value of the pearls found in the oysters of the gulph; and particularly those near the Islands del Rey Tabago, and others to the number of forty-three, forming a small archipelago. There are few persons of substance near Panama, who do not employ all, or at least part of, their slaves in this fishery; the manner of which not being commonly known, it will not be improper to describe it here.

The owners of the negroes employ the most proper persons for this fishery; which being performed at the bottom of the sea, they must be both expert swimmers, and capable of holding their breath a long time. These they send to the islands, where they have huts built for their lodgings, and boats which hold eight, ten, or twenty negroes, under the command of an officer. In these boats they go to such parts as are known to produce pearls, and where the depth of the water is not above ten, twelve, or fifteen fathoms. Here they come to an anchor; and the negroes having a rope fastened round their bodies, and the other end to the side of the boat, they take with them a small weight to accelerate their sinking, and plunge into the water. On reach-

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ing the bottom, they take up an oyſter, which they put under the left arm; the ſecond they hold in their left hand, and the third in their right: with theſe three oyſters, and ſometimes another in their mouth, they riſe to breathe, and put them in a bag. When they have reſted themſelves a while and recovered their breath, they dive a ſecond time; and thus continue, till they have either completed their taſk, or ſtrength fails them. Every one of thoſe negro divers is obliged daily to deliver his maſter a certain fixed number of pearls; ſo that when they have got the requiſite number of oyſters in their bag, they begin to open them, and deliver the pearls to the officer, till they have made up the number due to their maſter. The remainder is the property of the negroes.

Befide the toil of this fiſhery, from the oyſters ſtrongly adhering to the rocks, they are alſo in no ſmall danger from ſome kinds of fiſh, which either ſeize the negroes, or by ſtriking on them, cruſh them to the bottom. The fiſhery on the whole coaſt is obnoxious to the ſame danger from thoſe fiſh; but they are much more frequent where ſuch riches abound. The taberones and tintoretas, which are of an enormous ſize, feed on the bodies of theſe unfortunate fiſhermen; and the mantas, or quilts, either preſs them to death, by wrapping their fins about them, or cruſh them with their prodigious weight.

Every negro, to defend himſelf againſt theſe animals, carries with him a ſharp knife, with which, if the fiſh offers to aſſault him, he endeavours to ſtrike it in a part where it has no power to hurt him; on which the fiſh immediately flies. The officers keep a watchful eye on theſe voracious creatures,
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and on discovering them, shake the rope, fastened to the negroes bodies, that they may be upon their guard.

Beside these pearls, the kingdom of Terra Firma was formerly equally remarkable for the fine gold produced by the mines in its territories ; and which consequently proved a very considerable addition to its riches. Part of these mines were in the Province of Veraguas, others in that part of Panama ; but most, also the richest, and whose metal was of the finest quality, were in the Province of Darien ; and, on that account, the constant objects of the miners. But the Indians revolting, and making themselves masters of the whole province, there was a necessity for abandoning these mines, by which means the greatest part of them were lost ; a few only remaining on the frontiers, which still yield a small quantity of gold.

Among the creatures eaten by the inhabitants of Panama, is an amphibious creature called guana. It resembles a lizard in shape, but is considerably larger, being generally about a yard in length. It is of a yellowish green colour, but of a lighter yellow on the belly than on the back, where the green predominates. It has four legs like a lizard, but its claws are much longer in proportion : they are joined by a web which covers them, and is of the same form with those of geese, except that the talons at the ends of the toes are much longer, and project entirely out of the web or membrane. Its skin is covered with a thin scale adhering to it, and which renders it rough and hard ; and from the crown of its head to the beginning of its tail, which is generally about half a yard, runs a line of vertical scales, each

scale being from one to six lines in breadth, and three or four in length, separated so as to make a kind of saw: but from the end of the neck to the root of the tail, the scales gradually lessen, so that they are scarce visible at the latter part. Its belly is, in largeness, very disproportionable to its body; and its teeth are separated and very sharp pointed. On the water it rather walks than swims, being supported by the webs of its feet; and on that element its swiftness is amazing, being out of sight in an instant; whereas on the land, though far from moving heavily, its celerity is much less. When pregnant, its belly swells to an enormous size; and indeed they often lay fifty eggs at a time, each of which is about as large as that of a pigeon. These eggs are reckoned a great dainty in every part of America where the creature is found. The flesh of the guana is exceedingly white, and greatly admired; but few Europeans can be persuaded to eat it.

Every thing being now ready for their departure, they embarked on board the *St. Christopher*, commanded by Captain Don Juan Manuel Morel; and on the 9th of March, about three in the evening, they came to an anchor in Manta Bay; being desirous of viewing this coast, in order to know whether by forming their first base in one of its plains, the series of triangles could be continued to the mountains in the neighbourhood of Quito.

Accordingly they went on shore in the evening of the sixth, and repaired to the village of Monte Christo, about three leagues from the coast; but soon found that geometrical operations were impracticable there, the country being every where extremely mountainous, and almost wholly

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ly covered with prodigious trees, an insurmountable obstacle to any such design: they therefore determined to pursue their voyage to Guiaquil, and thence to Quito.

The Bay of Manta was formerly remarkable for a considerable pearl fishery, but it has been discontinued for some time. The bay has probably its name from the great quantity of mantas in those parts; the Indian inhabitants being chiefly employed in taking that fish, which they salt, and carry to the inland provinces. Europeans cannot help admiring their dexterity in this kind of fishery, which they carry on in the following manner: they throw into the water a log of wood, such as they use in making a balza, being about five or six yards in length, and near a foot in diameter. This log will be sufficient to support the weight intended, which consists of a net lying across one end of it, and an Indian standing in an erect position on the other. On this tottering vessel, assisted by only a single oar, he puts off to sea, about the distance of half a league, where he shoots his net. Another Indian follows him on a similar log, takes hold of the rope fastened to one end of the net, by which means the whole is expanded, and both the Indians move towards the land, where their partners wait to draw the net on shore. In this occupation the dexterity and agility of the Indians, in maintaining an equilibrium on the round logs, is truly amazing; for the continual agitation of the sea renders it absolutely necessary for them to be continually changing their position, and making different motions with their bodies: and what still heightens the difficulty is, that the Indian is at same time obliged to mind both his oar and his net, in drawing it towards the land.

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On the 13th of March, they left the Bay of Manta, and coasted along shore, within the Island de la Plata. On the 18th, they anchored in the mouth of the River Tumbez, where they remained till the 20th; when at fix in the morning they got under sail, and on the 25th, at five in the evening, landed at Guiaquil, which stands in 2 deg. 11 min. 21 sec. south latitude.

Guiaquil is of considerable extent, taking up, along the banks of the river, from the lower part of the old town to the upper part of the new, a space of near half a league; but the breadth is not at all proportional, every person being fond of having a house near the river. All the houses of both towns are built of wood, and many of them covered with tiles; though the greatest part of those in the old town are only thatched: but in order to prevent the spreading of fires, by which this city has severely suffered on several occasions, such covering is now prohibited. Most of these conflagrations owed their rise to the malevolence of the negroes, in order to revenge some punishments inflicted on them by their masters. As a farther precaution against fire, which they have so much reason to dread, the kitchens stand twelve or fifteen paces from the houses; with which they communicate by means of a long open gallery, resembling a bridge; but so slightly built, that, on the least appearance of fire in the kitchen, it is demolished in an instant; by which means the house is preserved.

The ground on which the new city is built, and the savannas in its neighbourhood, are not to be travelled over either on foot or horseback during the winter; for being a spongy chalk, it is every where so level, that there is no declivity for carrying off the water; and therefore on the first

first rain it becomes a general slough. In this respect the old town has the advantage, being built on a gravelly soil, which is never impassable. This city is defended by three forts; two on the river near the city, and the third behind it, guarding the entrance of a ravin. These are all built after the modern method of fortification, but before they were erected, it had only a platform, which is still remaining in the old town. All the churches and convents are of wood, except that of St. Domingo, still standing in the old town, which is of stone; the great solidity of the ground in that part being sufficient for supporting buildings of this kind.

The city and its jurisdiction are under a corregidor, nominated by the king, who holds his office during five years. Notwithstanding he is subordinate to the president and audience of Quito, he appoints the deputies in the several departments of his jurisdiction, both for the police and civil government. Guiaquil contains, in proportion to its dimensions, as many inhabitants as any city in all America; the continual resort of strangers, drawn thither by commerce, contributing very greatly to increase the number, generally computed at twenty thousand.

Though the heat here is equal to that of Panama or Carthagena, yet the climate distinguishes itself in the colour of the human species; and if a certain author has styled it the equinoctial low countries, in allusion to the resemblance it bears to the Netherlands of Europe; it may, with equal propriety, bear that appellation from this singularity, namely, that all the natives, except those born from a mixture of blood, are fresh coloured, and so finely featured, as justly to be called the handsomest, both in the Province of Quito,

to, and even in all Peru. To these personal advantages, bestowed by nature in a distinguished manner on the inhabitants, it has added the no less pleasing charms of elegance and politeness.

From the commerce of this city, a stranger would imagine it richer than it actually is. Europeans, who have raised any thing of a fortune here, when they have no immoveable goods to detain them, retire to Lima, or some other city of Peru, where they may improve their stocks with greater security.

The cocoa tree abounds in this district, and is generally not less than eighteen or twenty feet high. It begins from the ground to divide itself into four or five stems, according to the vigour of the root, from whence they all proceed. They are generally between four and seven inches in diameter; but their first growth is in an oblique direction, so that the branches are all expanded and separated from one another. The length of the leaf is between four and six inches, and its breadth three or four. It is very smooth, soft, and terminates in a point, like that of the China orange tree, but with some difference in colour. From the stem, as well as the branches, grow the pods which contain the cocoa.

The first appearance is a white blossom, not very large, whose pistil contains the embryo of the pod, which grows to the length of six or seven inches, and four or five in breadth, resembling a cucumber in shape; and striated in a longitudinal direction, but deeper than the cucumber.

The colour of the pod, while growing, is green, nearly resembling that of the leaf; but when arrived at its full perfection, it gradually changes to a yellow. The shell which covers it is thin, smooth,

smooth, and clear. When the fruit is arrived at its full growth, it is gathered, and being cut into slices, its pulp appears white and juicy, with small seeds, regularly arranged; and at that time of no greater consistence than the rest of the pulp, but whiter, and contained in a very fine, delicate membrane, full of liquor, resembling milk, but transparent, and something viscid. Its taste is a sweetish acid; but in this country is thought promotive of fevers. The yellowness of the pod indicates that the cocoa begins to feed on its substance, to acquire a greater consistence, and that the seeds begin to fill; the colour gradually fading till they are fully completed; when the dark brown colour of the shell, into which the yellow has deviated, indicates the proper time to gather it.

This tree produces its fruit twice a year, and in the same plenty and goodness. The quantity gathered throughout the whole jurisdiction of Guiaquil amounts at least to fifty thousand cargoes.

The cocoa trees delight so excessively in water, that the ground where they are planted must be reduced to a mire; and, if not carefully supplied with water, they die. They must also be planted in the shade, or at least defended from the perpendicular rays of the sun. Accordingly they are always placed near other large trees, under the shelter of which they grow and flourish.

The navigable part of the river of Guiaquil extends from the city to the customhouse at Babahoyo, the place where the goods are landed. This distance is twenty-four leagues and a half; and to Caracol, the landing place in winter, twenty-eight and a half.

The

The borders of this river, together with those of its creeks and canals, are decorated with country seats, and cottages of poor people of all casts, having here both the convenience of fishing and agriculture; and the intermediate spaces filled with such a variety of thickets, that art would find it difficult to imitate the delightful landscape here exhibited by nature.

The principal and most common materials used in building on these rivers, are canes; these also form the inward parts, as walls, floors, and rails of the stairs. The larger houses differ only in some of the principal pieces, which are of wood. The method of building is, to fix in the earth eight, ten, or twelve pieces of wood, more or less, according to the dimensions of the house, forked at the top, and of a proper length; all the apartments being on the first story, without any ground floor. Beams are then laid across on these forks, at the distance of four or five yards from the ground. On these beams, canes are laid in such a manner as to form a kind of rafters; and over these, boards of the same canes, a foot and a half in breadth, which form as firm and handsome a flooring as if of wood. The partitions of the several apartments are of the same materials; but the outer walls are generally latticed, for the free admission of the air. The principal beams of the roof of large houses are of timber, the rafters of cane, with smaller ones in a transverse direction, and over these vijaua leaves. Thus a house is built with very little expence, though containing all the necessary conveniencies. With regard to the poorer sort, every one's own labour serves to procure him a habitation. The lower part both of these houses, as well as those in the greatest
1 part

part of the jurisdiction of Guiaquil, are entirely open, without having any fence, except the posts and stanchions by which the building is supported. The ground floor is wholly useless in the winter, when all the country is turned to mud. Such houses, however, as stand beyond the reach of inundations, have ground floors, furnished like the other apartments.

All the inhabitants have their canoes for passing from one house to another; and are so dexterous in the management of these skiffs, that a little girl ventures alone in a boat so small and slight, that another less skilful would overset in stepping into it.

The continual rains in winter, and the lightness of the materials with which these houses are built, render it necessary to repair them during the summer; but those of the poorer sort, which are low, must be every year rebuilt.

The vessels used upon this river are chatas, canoes, and balzas, or rafts, a name which sufficiently explains their construction, but not the method of managing them; which these Indians, strangers to arts and sciences, have learned from necessity.

The balzas, called by the Indians jangadas, are composed of five, seven, or nine beams, of a sort of wood, which, though known here only by the name of balza, the Indians of Darien call puero; and, in all appearance, is the ferula of the Latins, mentioned by Collumella. It is a whitish, soft wood; and so very light, that a boy can easily carry a log of it, three or four yards in length, and a foot in diameter.

Balzas are not only used on rivers, but small voyages are made at sea on them; and sometimes they go as far as Paita. Their dimensions being

different, they are also applied to different uses; some of them being fishing balzas; some carry all sorts of goods from the customhouse to Guiaquil, and from thence to Puna, the Salto de Tumbes, and Paita; and others, of a more curious and elegant construction, serve for removing families to their estates and country houses, having the same convenience as on shore, not being in the least agitated on the river; and that they have sufficient room for accommodations, may be inferred from the length of their beams, which are twelve or fifteen fathoms, and about two feet, or two and a half diameter; so that the nine beams, of which they consist, form a breadth of between twenty and twenty-four feet, and proportional in those of seven, or any other number of beams.

The thickest beam of those which compose the balza, is placed so as to project beyond the other in its after-parts, and to this is lashed the first beams on each side, and thus successively till the whole are secured; that in the middle being the principal piece, and thence the number of beams is always odd. The larger sort of balzas generally carry between four and five hundred quintals, without being damaged by the water; for the waves of the sea never run over the balza, neither does the water splash up between the beams, the balza always yielding to the motion of the waves.

Hitherto we have only mentioned the construction and uses they are applied to; but the greatest singularity of this floating vehicle is, that it sails, tacks, and works as well, in contrary winds, as ships with a keel, and makes very little lee-way. This advantage it derives from another method of steering than by a rudder; namely, by some
2 boards,

boards, three or four yards in length, and half a yard in breadth, called *gueras*, which are placed vertically both in the head and stern, between the main beams, and by thrusting some of these deep in the water, and raising others, they bear away, luff up, tack, lay to, and perform all the other motions of a regular ship.

The increase of fish in this river is greatly hindered by the prodigious numbers of alligators: an amphibious creature, found both in the rivers and the adjacent plains; though it is not often known to go far from the banks of the river. When tired with swimming, they leave the water to bask themselves in the sun, and then appear more like logs of rotten wood, thrown ashore by the current, than living creatures; but upon perceiving any vessel near them, they immediately throw themselves into the water. Some are so large, as to exceed five yards in length. During the time they lie basking on the shore, they keep their huge mouths wide open, till filled with flies and other insects, when they suddenly shut their jaws, and swallow their prey. Whatever may have been written with regard to the fierceness and rapacity of this animal, our company of artists found, from experience, that they avoid a man; and on the approach of any one, immediately plunge into the water. Its whole body is covered with scales, impenetrable to a musket ball, unless it happens to hit him in the belly, near the fore legs, the only part vulnerable.

The alligator is an oviparous creature. The female makes a large hole in the sand, near the brink of a river, and there deposits her eggs, which are nearly equal to those of an ostrich, and as white as those of a hen, but much more solid.

She generally lays about a hundred, continuing in the same place till they are all deposited, which is a day or two. She then covers them with the sand; and the better to conceal them, rolls herself, not only over her precious depositum, but to a considerable distance. After this precaution, she returns to the water, till natural instinct informs her, that it is time to deliver her young from their confinement, when she comes to the spot, followed by the male, and tearing up the sand, begins breaking the eggs, but so carefully, that scarce a single one is injured, and a whole swarm of little alligators are seen crawling about. The female then takes them into the water; but the watchful gallinazos, a large bird, very common in these parts, makes use of this opportunity to deprive her of some; and even the male alligator, who indeed comes for no other end, devours what he can, till the female has reached the water with the remaining; for all those which either fall from her back, or do not swim, she herself eats; so that out of such a formidable brood, happily not more than four or five escape.

When these creatures cannot find fish to appease their hunger, they betake themselves to the meadows bordering on the banks of the river, and devour calves and colts; and, in order to be more secure in seizing their prey, take the opportunity of the night, that they may surprise them in their sleep; and it is observed, that those alligators, which have once tasted flesh, become so fond of it as never to take up with fish, but in cases of necessity. Their voracity has been often felt by the boatmen, who, by inconsiderately sleeping with one of their arms or legs hanging over the side of the boat, these animals have seized, and drawn
the

the whole body into the water. The inhabitants of those places where they abound, are very industrious in catching and destroying them. Their usual method is by a cafonate, or piece of hard wood, sharpened at both ends, and baited with the lungs of some animal. This cafonate they fasten to a thong, the end of which is secured to the shore. The alligator, on seeing the lungs floating on the water, snaps at the bait, and thus both points of the wood enter into his jaws, in such a manner, that he can neither shut nor open his mouth. He is then dragged ashore, where the Indians bait him like a bull, knowing that the greatest damage he can do, is to throw down such as, for want of care or agility, do not keep out of his reach.

As soon as the French and Spanish artists arrived at Guiaquil, the corregidor dispatched a messenger to the magistrate of Guaranda, that he might order carriages to the port of Caracol, for conveying them and their baggage to the mountains; but the passage being then impracticable, they were obliged to continue at Guiaquil till the summer, when, on receiving advice, that the mules provided by that magistrate were on the road to Caracol, they immediately embarked, on the 3d of May 1736, on board a large chata, and reached that place on the 11th. The tortures they endured on the river, from the mosquitoes, were beyond imagination. The most dismal night they spent in this passage, was when they came to an anchor near a large, handsome house, but uninhabited, for they had no sooner seated themselves in it, than they were attacked on all sides with innumerable swarms of mosquitoes, so that it was impossible for a person susceptible of feel-

ing to be one moment quiet. In short, no expedient was of any use against their numbers. The smoke of the trees they burnt, to disperse these infernal insects, besides almost choaking them, seemed rather to augment than diminish their multitudes.

At day break, they could not without concern look upon each other; their faces were swelled, and their hands covered with painful tumours, which sufficiently indicated the condition of the other parts of their bodies, exposed to the attacks of these insects. The following night they took up their quarters in a house inhabited, but not free from mosquitoes, though in much less numbers than before. On informing the host of the deplorable manner in which they had spent the preceding night, he gravely told them, that the house they so greatly complained of, had been forsaken on account of its being the purgatory of a soul: to which one of the company wittily answered, that it was much more natural to think it was forsaken on account of its being a purgatory for the body.

All the road, from Caracol to the Ojibar, is so deep and boggy, that the beasts, at every step, sunk almost up to their bellies; but along the banks of that river, they found it more firm and commodious. The house they lodged in had been for sometime forsaken, like that already mentioned on Guiaquil river, and was become a nest of mosquitoes of all kinds, so that it was impossible to determine which was the worst. Some, to avoid the torture of these insects, stripped themselves and went into the river, keeping only their heads above water; but the face, being the only part exposed, was immediately covered with them,

them, so that those who had recourse to this expedient, were soon forced to deliver up their whole body to these tormenting creatures.

On the 16th, at noon, they passed by a place called Memarumi, or Mother of Stone, where there is an inconceivably beautiful cascade. The rock, from which the water precipitates itself, is nearly perpendicular, and fifty fathoms in height; and on both sides bordered with lofty and spreading trees. The clearness of the fluid dazzles the sight, which is, at the same time, charmed with the lustre of the volume of water formed in its fall; after which it continues its course in a bed along a small descent, and is crossed by a road. From thence they continued their journey, and after crossing the river twice on bridges, but with equal danger as in fording it, they arrived, at two in the evening, at a place called Tarigagua, where they rested in a large structure of timber, covered with vijaua leaves, built for their reception.

At Tarigagua the traveller often sees instances of the effects of two opposite temperatures, in two persons happening to meet, one of them coming from Guiaquil, and the other from the mountains; the latter finds the heat so great, that he is scarce able to bear any clothes, while the former wraps himself up in all the garments he can procure. The one is so delighted with the warmth of the water of the river, that he bathes in it; the other thinks it so cold, that he avoids being spattered by it. Nor is the case very different, even in the same person, who, after a journey to the mountains, is returning to Guiaquil; or vice versa, provided the journey and return be made at the same season of the year.

At

At a quarter past nine in the morning, they began to ascend the mountain of San Antonio, the foot of which is at Tarigagua, and at one, reached a place called, by the Indians, Guamac, or Cross of Canes, where they halted.

The ruggedness of the road from Tarigagua, leading up this mountain, is not easily described. It gave our artists more trouble and fatigue, besides all the dangers they were every moment exposed to, than all they had experienced in their former journeys. In some parts the declivity is so great, that the mules can scarce keep their footing; and in others the acclivity is equally difficult. In many places, the road is so narrow, that the mules have scarce room to set their feet; and in others a continued series of precipices. Besides these roads, or rather paths, are full of holes, or camelones, near three quarters of a yard deep, in which the mules put their fore and hind feet; so that sometimes they draw their bellies and rider's legs along the ground. Indeed these holes serve as steps, without which the precipices would be in a great measure impracticable. But should the creature happen to put his foot between two of these holes, or not place it right, the rider falls, and if on the side of the precipice, inevitably perishes.

These holes, or camelones, as they are called, render all this road very toilsome and dangerous, being, as it were, so many obstacles to the poor mules; though the danger is even greater in those parts where they are wanting; for, as the tracks are extremely steep and slippery, from the soil, which is chalky, and continually wet, so they would be quite impracticable, did not the Indians go before and dig little trenches across the road, with small spades, which they carry with them for that purpose;

pose; and thus both the difficulty and danger of these craggy paths are greatly lessened. This work is continual; every drove requiring a repetition of it: for in less than a night, the rain utterly destroys all the trenches cut by several hands, the preceding day. The trouble of having people going before to mend the road, the pains arising from the many falls and bruises, and the disagreeableness of being covered with dirt, and wet to the skin, might be the more cheerfully supported, were they not augmented by the sight of such frightful precipices and deep abysses, as must fill the traveller's mind with terror.

The manner of descending from these heights is not less difficult and dangerous. In order to understand this, it is necessary to observe that, in these parts of the mountains, the excessive steepness will not admit of the camelones being lasting; for the waters, by their continually softening the earth, wash them away. The mules themselves are sensible of the caution requisite in these descents; for coming to the top of an eminence, they stop, and having placed their fore feet close together, as in a posture of stopping themselves, they also put their hinder feet together, but a little forwards, as if going to lie down.

In this attitude having, as it were, taken a survey of the road, they slide down with the swiftness of a meteor. All the rider has to do, is to keep himself fast in the saddle, without checking his beast; for the least motion is sufficient to disorder the equilibrium of the mule, in which case, they both unavoidably perish. The address of this creature is here truly wonderful, for in this rapid motion, when they seem to have lost all government of themselves, they follow exactly the

the different windings of the road, as if they had before accurately reconnoitred, and previously settled in their minds, the route they were to follow, and taken every precaution for their safety amidst so many irregularities.

But the longest practice of travelling these roads, cannot entirely free the mules from a kind of dread or horror, which appears when they arrive at the top of a steep declivity: for they stop without being checked by the rider; and if he inadvertently endeavours to spur them on, they continue immoveable; nor will they stir from the place till they have put themselves in the above-mentioned posture. Now it is that they seem to be actuated by reason; for they not only attentively view the road, but tremble and snort at the danger; which, if the rider be not accustomed to these emotions, cannot fail of filling him with terrible ideas. The Indians go before, and place themselves along the sides of the mountain, holding by the roots of trees, to animate the beasts with shouts, till they at once start down the declivity.

They now began to descend with more ease towards the province of Chimbo, attended by the provincial alcalde, and the most eminent persons of the town. After complimenting them in the most cordial manner on their arrival, they proceeded together, and within a league of the town were met by the priest, a Dominican, accompanied by several of his order, and a number of the inhabitants, who also left the town on the same friendly occasion: and, to heighten the ceremony, had brought with them a troop of cholos, or Indian boys. In this manner the cavalcade entered the town, on which all the bells in

in the place were rung, and every house resounded with the noise of trumpets, tabors, and pipes.

On expressing to the corregidor their surprise at this reception, as a compliment far above their rank, he informed them, that it was not at all singular, it being no more than what was commonly practised, when persons of any appearance entered the town; and that there was no small emulation between the several towns in paying those congratulations.

After they had passed the mountains beyond Pucara, the whole country, within the reach of the eye, during a passage of two leagues, was a level and open plain, having neither trees nor mountains, and being covered with fields of wheat, barley, maize, and other grain, naturally gave our artists great pleasure.

The corregidor entertained them in his house at Guaranda till the 21st of the same month, when they continued their journey to Quito; whither they arrived, without meeting with any remarkable occurrences, in a few days.

At the extremity of a spacious plain, called Tura Bamba, stands the city of Quito; on which they entered at five in the evening on the 29th. The president of the province, besides providing apartments for them in the palace of the audencia, entertained them the first three days with great splendor, during which they were visited by the bishop, the auditor, the canons, the regidores, and all other persons of any distinction, who seemed to vie with each other in their civilities.

Our artists found, from accurate observations, that the city of Quito is situated in latitude 0 deg. 13 min. 33 sec. south, and in 298 deg. 15 min. 45 sec. or 61 deg. 44 min. 15 sec. west longitude, from

from the meridian of Teneriffe. It stands in the inland parts of the continent of South America, and on the eastern skirts of the West Cordillera of the Andes. Its distance from the coast of the South Sea is about thirty-five leagues west. Contiguous to it, on the north-west, are the mountains of Pichincha, not less famous among strangers for their great height, than among the natives for the great riches they are imagined to contain. The city is built on the acclivity of that mountain, and surrounded by others of a middling height, among the breaches, or guaycos, as they are called here, which form the eminences of Pichincha. Some of these breaches are of a considerable depth, and run quite through it, so that great part of the buildings stand upon arches. This renders the streets irregular, and extremely uneven, some parts of the city being built on the ascents, descents, and summits of the breaches. The city, with regard to magnitude, may be compared to one of the second order in Europe; but the unevenness of its situation is a great disadvantage to its appearance.

Near it are two spacious plains: both of which are interspersed with seats and cultivated lands, which greatly add to the prospect from the city, being continually covered with a lively verdure. These two plains contract as they approach the city; and at their junction, form a neck of land, covered with those eminences, on which part of Quito stands. It may, perhaps, appear strange, that notwithstanding two such beautiful and extensive plains are so near the city, a situation so very inconvenient should be preferred to either. But the first founders seem to have had less regard for convenience and beauty, than for preserving

serving the remembrance of their conquests, by building on the site of the ancient capital of the Indians, who made choice of such places for erecting their towns; probably from their being better adapted for defence. Besides, the Spaniards, during the infancy of their conquest, little imagined this place would ever increase to its present magnitude. Quito, however, was formerly in a much more flourishing condition than at present.

Pichincha, in former times, was a volcano; and even some fiery eruptions have been known since the conquest. At present no fire is ejected, nor does there any smoke issue from it. The highest part of Pichincha is covered with ice and snow, considerable quantities of which are brought down to the city, and mixed with the liquors drank by people of fashion.

The principal square in Quito has four sides, in one of which stands the cathedral, and in the opposite the episcopal palace; the third side is taken up by the townhouse; and the fourth by the palace of the audience. It is very spacious, and has in the centre an elegant fountain. It is, indeed, rather disfigured than adorned by the palace of the audience; which, instead of being kept in repair, the greatest part of it has been suffered to fall into ruins; only a few halls and offices being taken any care of. The principal streets are paved; but those which are not, are almost impassable after rain, which is here very common.

Beside the principal square, there are two others in Quito, and both very spacious, together with several others that are smaller. In these the greatest part of the convents are situated and

thence make a very handsome appearance; the fronts and portals of those edifices dedicated to religion, being adorned with all the embellishments of architecture, particularly the convent of the Franciscans, which being wholly of free stone, must have cost an immense sum. The cathedral, besides the richness of its furniture, is splendidly adorned with tapestry hangings and other costly decorations.

Among the courts, whose sessions are held at Quito, the principal is that of the royal audience, instituted in 1563, and consists of a president, four auditors, and a royal fiscal, all persons in other high official situations in the province. There is, likewise, another fiscal, called protector de los Indios, who solicits for the Indians; and when injured, pleads in their defence. The jurisdiction of this court extends to the utmost limits of the province, and from its decisions lies no other appeal than to the council of the Indies.

Here are also established a tribunal de cruzada; a treasury for the effects of persons deceased, a very excellent institution, though frequently abused; and a court of inquisition, under a commissary and familiars appointed by the holy office of Lima.

The cathedral chapter consists of the bishop, dean, and other dignitaries, who enjoy considerable revenues. This church was erected into a cathedral in 1545, and among other festivals celebrated in it with extraordinary magnificence, are those of Corpus Christi, and the Conception of our Lady; at which all persons of eminence assist. But the singular pomp of the procession of the host in the former, and the dances of the Indians must not be omitted.

A month

A month before the celebration of the feasts, it is customary for the parish priests, throughout the province, to select a number of Indians, who are to be the dancers. These immediately begin to practise the dances they used before their conversion. Their music is the pipe and tabor; and the most extraordinary of their motions are a few awkward capers, little suited to the European taste. Within a few days of the solemnity, they dress themselves in a doublet, shirt, and woman's petticoat, adorned with the utmost finery. Over their stockings they wear a kind of buskins, with a number of bells. Their faces are covered with a sort of mask formed of various-coloured ribbons. Dressed in this fantastical garb, they proudly call themselves angels, spend the day in roving about the streets, and dancing to gain the applause of the ignorant multitude. But what is most surprising, without any pay or view of interest, they continue this exercise a whole fortnight before the grand festival, and a month after it, regardless of their families, their duties, or themselves*.

Soon after our artists arrived at Quito, they determined to continue the series of the triangles for measuring an arch of the meridian to the south of that city: the company accordingly divided themselves into two bodies, consisting of French and Spaniards, and each retired to the part assigned them. Don George Juan and M. Godin, who headed one party, went to the mountain of Pambamarca; while M. Bouger, De la

* Such are the arts of popery to gain converts, by amusing weak minds with unmeaning shows and ridiculous ceremonies. The Indian converts to Christianity, in general, are indulged in all their original absurdities: if they are submissive to the priest, it is enough.

Condamine, and Don Ulloa, with their assistants, climbed up to the highest summit of Pichincha.

Both parties suffered extremely from the severity of the cold and the impetuosity of the winds, which, on those heights, blew with incessant violence. Thus, in the torrid zone, nearly under the equinoctial, where it was natural to suppose they had most to fear from the heat, their greatest pain was occasioned by the intensity of the cold.

Their first scheme was to pitch a field tent for each company; but on Pichincha, the narrowness of the summit would not admit of this, and the party were obliged to be contented with a hut of the smallest dimensions, so that they could scarcely all creep into it. Their station was on one of the highest crags of a rocky mountain, one hundred fathoms above the highest part of the desert of Pichincha. The ascent up this stupendous rock was so craggy, for a considerable way, as only to be climbed on foot; and to perform it, cost them four hours continual labour and pain, from the violent efforts of the body, and the extreme subtilty of the air.

The artists generally kept within their hut, which they were obliged to do, to screen themselves from the severity of the weather. They were involved, likewise, in such a thick fog, that an object at six or eight paces distance was hardly discernible. When at any time the fog cleared up, the clouds below appear like a vast sea, while they seemed insulated on its centre. In this case, they heard the burst of storms which were discharging themselves on Quito and the neighbouring country: they saw the lightning issue from the clouds, and heard the thunder rolling far beneath them; and whilst the lower parts were

were involved in tempests of thunder and rain, they enjoyed a delightful serenity ; the wind was abated, the sky clear, and the enlivening rays of the sun moderated the severity of the cold. But when the clouds rose, their density rendered respiration difficult ; the snow and hail fell incessantly ; and the wind returned with all its violence ; so that it was impossible to overcome the apprehension of being blown down the precipice, or of being buried in the daily accumulation of ice and snow.

Sometimes they were alarmed with the loud reports of enormous fragments of rocks tumbling from their beds ; and this, in the night time, was peculiarly awful. The days too were often little better than the nights ; and the intervals, when it was possible to pursue their business, were found insufficient to make any progress ; but they still persevered, in hopes that the weather might mend.

Their servants and attending Indians were so benumbed with the cold, that it was with great difficulty they could get them to quit their tent, where they kept a continual fire. All that our artists could obtain from them, was to take their turns in the labour ; and even then they set about it unwillingly, and performed it very slowly.

It may be easily conceived what this company suffered from the asperities of such a climate. Their feet were swelled and so tender, that they could not even endure the heat of a fire ; and walking was attended with extreme pain. Their hands were covered with chilblains ; their lips swelled and chapped ; and almost every motion, in speaking or eating, drew blood. They were, indeed, little disposed to laugh ; but if at any time they did, the extension of the jaws occasioned such fissures as were painful for some days.

Upwards of three weeks our artists spent on this rock ; when, at last, despairing of being able to finish their observations of the angles, from the impossibility of seeing their signals from one summit to the other, they descended to a lower situation and a more favourable region. However, they still retained their former habitation for nearly three months longer ; when having completed the observations which particularly concerned Pichincha, they proceeded to others ; but with little abatement either of inconvenience, cold, or fatigue ; for the places where they made their observations being necessarily on the highest parts of the deserts, the only respite they enjoyed, was in passing from one station to another.

After they left Pichincha, each company made use of a field tent, which, though small, was preferable to the hut. At first they pitched their tents in sheltered situations ; but afterwards resolving to make them answer the purpose of signals, to save trouble, they removed them to more exposed spots, where the impetuosity of the wind sometimes blew them down.

From what has been observed, it will follow, that to form a right judgment of the happy temperature of the air of Quito, experience must correct the errors which mere speculation would teach ; as without that unerring guide, or the evidence of history, who would imagine, that in the centre of the torrid zone, or rather under the equinoctial, the heat is not only very tolerable, but even the cold, in some places, insupportably severe ; and that others enjoy all the pleasures and advantages of a constant spring, their fields being covered with perpetual verdure, and enamelled with flowers of the brightest hues ? The mildness of the climate, free from the extremes
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of heat and cold, and the constant equality of the nights and days, render a spot, which the ancients deemed uninhabitable, not only pleasant but fertile. Nature, indeed, has scattered her blessings round Quito with such a liberal hand, that this country surpasses those of the temperate zones, where the vicissitudes of summer and winter, and the transition from heat to cold, cause the extremes of both to be more sensibly felt.

The circumstances which render this country so delightful, arise from an union of different qualities so well blended, that they could not be separated without a painful chasm. The principal circumstance is an elevated situation; and thus, not only the reflection of the heat is diminished, but the winds are more subtle, and congelation more natural.

The fertility of this country would appear to many incredible, did not the consideration of the equality and benignity of the climate enforce its probability. For both the degrees of cold and heat are so happily determined, that the moisture continues, and the earth seldom fails of being cherished by the fertilizing beams of the sun some part of every day. Hence, the fruits and beauties of the several seasons are seen here at one and the same time.

But though this is generally seen, yet there is a settled time for the grand harvest. Still, however, the most favourable season for sowing in one place is a month or two later or earlier than another, though distant only two or three leagues. Thus we sometimes see sowing and reaping going on at once, on different sides of the same hill, or even on the same side, according to elevation, or other natural determining circumstances. Nor is this any contradiction to what has been before advanced

advanced, relative to this fruitful and happy climate.

The generality of the villages being built on the sides of the mountains, have little regularity. Except the church and parsonage, they are generally constructed of mud.

While the Spanish artists were employed in their mensurations in the province of Quito, they were summoned by the viceroy of Peru, to repair immediately to Lima, where their assistance was thought necessary to frustrate the designs of the English*.

They readily obeyed the viceroy's order, and having furnished themselves with necessaries at Quito, they left that city on the 30th of October, determining to proceed by the way of Guaranda and Guiaquil, as being the best road.

They reached Salto on the 7th of November, and in two days more arrived at Tumbez, through a country entirely waste; part of it being overflowed by the tides, and the other part dead sands, which reflect the rays of the sun so intensely, as to render it necessary to perform this journey generally in the night.

At Tumbez, Don Francisco Pizarro first landed in 1526. Along the banks of a river of the same name, all kinds of tropical fruits and grain are produced in great abundance; and the more distant parts of the country yield a kind of leguminous tree, called algarrobale, which bears a bean that serves as food for cattle.

From Tumbez they proceeded to Piura, which journey they performed, with difficulty, in fifty-four hours, along a road both toilsome and dan-

* Commodore Anson's squadron was then expected in the South Seas.

gerous. In the last stage of this route, they saw a mine of cope, a kind of mineral tar, great quantities of which are exported to Callao, and other parts, where it is used in shipping; but it is said to burn the cordage.

The city of Piura was the first Spanish settlement in Peru. It was founded by Pizarro in 1531. It stands in 5 deg. 11 min. south latitude; and is the residence of the corregidor, whose jurisdiction extends on one side, along the vallies, and on the other, among the mountains. It has a river which contributes much to the convenience of the inhabitants, and to the fertility of the country; but in the summer season it generally fails, when they are obliged to dig wells in its channel.

Our artists continuing their journey, next reached Sechura, about ten leagues distant, the whole country between the two stages being a level, sandy desert. After resting here two days, they crossed the desert, and making some short halts for refreshments and rest, they arrived at Monope. The extent and uniform aspect of the plain through which they passed, together with the continual motion of the sand, which soon effaces all tracks, frequently bewilder the most experienced guides. Their sagacity, however, in recovering the right path is very remarkable; for by smelling the sand, which is more or less impregnated by the excrements of the mules, they determine the true direction.

Near Menope runs the river Pozuelos, which also becomes arid in summer. The instinct of beasts, used to travel this road, is surprising; for even at four leagues distance they can smell the water,

water, and become so impatient that it is difficult to check them.

After passing through some unimportant towns, they reached Truxillo, in the valley of Chimbo. Notwithstanding its sandy soil, the situation is pleasant. It is surrounded by a brick wall; and its extent entitles it to be classed among cities of the third magnitude. Its distance from the sea is about half a league. The houses make a decent appearance.

In this climate there is a sensible difference between summer and winter. The country of this whole valley is extremely fertile, so that the inhabitants enjoy, not only abundance of all sorts of provisions for their own consumption, but make considerable exports, especially of wheat and sugars. About a league from the city is a river, whose waters are conducted, by various canals, through this delightful country. It would be uninteresting to enumerate all the places they halted at; suffice it to say, that, after a long journey of two hundred and sixty-four leagues, the greatest part of which they performed by night, they at last entered the city of Lima.

This city stands in the spacious and delightful valley of Rimac, an Indian word, which the Spaniards have corruptly changed into Lima. The original is derived from the name of an idol, to which the native Indians used to offer sacrifice; and, as it was supposed to return answers to the prayers addressed to it, they called it, by way of eminence, Rimac, or he who speaks.

Lima, according to the most accurate observations, stands in 12 deg. 2 min. 3 sec. south latitude, and 60 deg. 32 min. 58 sec. west longitude from the meridian of Teneriffe. Its situation is
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one of the most advantageous that can be conceived, lying in a spacious valley, and at a proper distance, towards the north, bounded by the Cordillera des Andes, from whence some hills project into the valley.

The river of the same name washes the walls, and when not increased by the torrents from the mountains, is easily fordable. However, it has an elegant stone bridge over it, having at one extremity a gate of the finest architecture. This gate conducts to the grand square, which is very large and superb.

The form of the city is triangular, the base, or longest side, extending along the banks of the river. Its length is two-thirds of a league, and its greatest breadth two-fifths. It is surrounded by a brick wall, which answers its original intention, but possesses no regularity. The streets are paved, and lined by canals, which, being arched over, contribute to its cleanliness, without any inconvenience.

The houses for the most part are low, but commodious, and make a good appearance. They are all constructed in such a manner, and of such materials, as may best enable them to support the shocks of the earthquakes to which this city is so much devoted. These are the most dreadful disasters which attend Lima and the neighbouring country. So sudden and violent are these concussions of nature, that the interval between them is never of sufficient length to obliterate the remembrance of their tremendous consequences.

The earthquakes, however, though sudden, have their presages; one of which is a rumbling noise in the bowels of the earth, about a minute before the shock is felt, which seems to pervade
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all the adjacent subterraneous parts. This is followed by the dismal howlings of dogs, which seem to have the first perception of the impending danger. On these alarms, the terrified inhabitants fly from their houses into the streets, with such precipitation, that if the calamity happens in the night, they appear quite naked. Nor does their terror end with the first shock, none venturing to return to their houses, even if they escape the first attack, lest a repetition should again involve them into greater calamity.

One of the most dreadful concussions of nature, felt by this unfortunate city, happened on the 20th of October 1687.

Another still more dreadful in its consequences, overtook it on the 28th of October 1746, at half past ten at night. In little more than three minutes, the greatest part of the buildings of every description was destroyed, burying under the ruins all those who had not been able to escape into the streets and squares; the only places of safety in these terrible convulsions. The fort of Callao, at the very same hour, sunk into similar ruins; but what it suffered from the earthquake in its buildings was trivial, compared to the catastrophe which ensued. The sea, receding to a considerable distance, returned in mountainous waves, foaming with the violence of the agitation, and instantly converted Callao into a sea; nothing remaining, except a piece of the wall of the fort of Santa Cruz, as a memorial of this terrible devastation. At that moment twenty-three ships, of different descriptions, were riding in the harbour: nineteen of which were absolutely sunk, and the other four, among which was the St. Fermin frigate, were

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carried

carried, by the irresistible force of the waves, a considerable way up the country.

This terrible inundation extended to other ports along the coast, which underwent the same fate as Lima. The number of inhabitants who perished in that city amounted to thirteen hundred, besides the maimed and wounded. At Callao, whose population was estimated at four thousand, only two hundred escaped; and twenty-two of these by means of the wall already mentioned.

From these horrible visitations, added to its never raining, the reader would naturally be led to think, that the country must of necessity be totally barren; the contrary, however, is the fact; for Lima enjoys an enviable fertility; and art and nature unite to supply that moisture which the clouds seem to withhold.

One of the principal cares of the incas was, the cutting and disposing, in the most advantageous manner, trenches or small canals, to convey the waters of the river to every part, and fertilize the soil. The Spaniards finding these useful works ready executed, have been at some pains to keep them in repair; and the country in consequence is irriguous and beautiful.

In the vicinity of the city are numerous gardens; full of the choicest fruits and herbs. The soil, however, is stony and sandy. The arable lands have a stratum of a foot or two of earth; but below that, loose stones. Hence it is evident, that this whole space was once overflowed by the sea, to the distance of some leagues beyond its present limits.

The rocks, too, in the most inland part of the bay, are perforated and smoothed like those washed by the waves, and undermined in the most ex-

traordinary manner, which could not have been done without the agency of the sea.

Another singularity in this arid country, is the abundance of springs; water being every where found by digging only a few feet below the surface.

One astonishing particular in the walls of Lima is, that though built on the surface of the earth, without any foundation, they have withstood those violent earthquakes, which overthrew the most solid fabrics. This peculiarity is likewise found in the walls of other towns throughout the plain.

During our artists stay at Lima, they laboured incessantly to put the country into the best posture of defence, in case the English should invade it. At the same time four men of war were sent to cruise off the coast of Chili, and to visit the island of Juan Fernandez*, in order to attack the English squadron, on its first appearance in the South Seas. But after cruising there a considerable time, they returned to Callao, without receiving the least information of any foreign ships having been seen in those seas; and immediately resumed their unfinished mensuration of an arch of the meridian.

Before they had completed their work, an express arrived at Quito, with the particulars of the success of the English on these coasts, and that they had sacked the town of Païta. Our artists therefore immediately returned to Lima, where

* From the preceding voyage it will appear, that the Spaniards left the island only a few days before Commodore Anson's arrival, which fortunate incident prevented his falling into their hands; as his men were too much afflicted with the scurvy, to be able to make any resistance in case of an attack.

they received the command of two frigates, fitted out to cruise on the coast of Chili.

Chili is celebrated for its fertility. Its plains, eminences, vallies, in short the whole kingdom, is an object of admiration ; for such is the exuberant fruitfulness of the soil, that every particle of it seems to teem with vegetative life. In consequence of this, agriculture is one of the most beneficial employments. This kingdom abounds likewise in mines of all kinds, particularly in those of gold and copper.

The manner of conducting the inland trade with the Indians in this quarter, is too remarkable to be omitted. These aborigines are not governed by caciques like those of Peru ; the only homage they pay is to age ; and therefore the oldest person of the family is respected as its governor. The Spanish trader begins with offering the chief of the family a cup of wine, after which he displays his wares, that the Indian may make his selection, mentioning at the same time the expected return. If they agree, the Spaniard makes him a present of some wine ; and the Indian chief informs the community, that they may trade with that Spaniard as his friend. Relying on this protection, the Spaniard goes from hut to hut, recommending himself at first by giving the head of the family a glass of his wine. After this they enter on business ; and the Indian having made his choice of what he wants, the trader proceeds, visiting the the different huts, till he has disposed of all his stock, without receiving any equivalent at the time.

He then returns to the habitation of the chief, calling on his customers in the way ; and acquainting them that he is on his return home.

On this intimation, not one of them fails to bring his stipulated returns to the chief's hut. Here they take their leave of him, with all the appearance of a sincere friendship; and sometimes the Indians escort him to the frontiers, and assist him in driving off the cattle he has received in exchange for his goods.

Formerly these traders carried considerable quantities of wine and other inebriating liquors; but this giving rise to tumults, which sometimes ended in wars, this branch of trade has been suppressed, and now no more liquors are allowed to be carried into the Indian territories, than what will be sufficient to pay a harmless compliment to the masters of families. The happy effects of this salutary prohibition are mutually felt.

The Indians of Aranco, Tucapel, and others in their vicinity, have hitherto eluded all attempts of the Spanish government for reducing them to subjection. For in this vast extent, when they find themselves pressed, they retire to more interior parts, where, joining other nations, they return in such numbers, that all resistance would be temerity.

Soon after our artists arrived in the bay of Concepcion, they joined the *Esperanza*, a Spanish man of war, commanded by Don Pedro Mendiuetta, who had found means to double Cape Horn and reach this port. Being quickly joined by Admiral Pizarro, who took upon him the command of the squadron, they sailed for Valparaiso, where they found the *Louis Erasme*, *Notre Dame de la Deliverance*, and the *Lys*, French vessels, which having been freighted as register ships, had touched there to vend their cargoes.

The whole fleet now sailed for Juan Fernandez, and thence to Callao, where they arrived on the 24th of June.

Our artists once more returned to Quito where they finished their measurements, and then proceeded to Lima, in order to obtain a passage for Spain. At Callao, however, they fell in with the Deliverance and Lys, French ships, preparing to sail for Europe. This was an opportunity not to be omitted; and accordingly Don George Juan embarked in the latter, and Don Antonio de Ulloa in the former.

They left Callao on the 22d of November, and were soon joined by the Louis Erasme and the Marquis d'Antin; but the Lys springing a leak was obliged to return. The rest of the squadron, however, had the good fortune to double Cape Horn without meeting with the violent storms so frequently fatal to mariners in those latitudes. Having taken in supplies and repaired their shattered ships in the road of Ferdinando de Naroná, on the coast of Brasil, on the 10th of June 1744, they again set sail, and flattered themselves that the danger of the voyage was now at an end. But on the 21st of July, they discovered two sail within three leagues of them, and soon approaching within cannon shot, the strangers hoisted English colours and formed their line, while the French, though little in a condition for fighting, likewise prepared for action.

The enemy, who afterwards proved to be privateers, were considerably superior in force. They were named the Prince Frederic, Captain Talbot; and the Duke, Captain Morecock. After a short contest, the Marquis d'Antin struck, after losing
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her captain, and receiving several shots between wind and water.

The captain of the Deliverance, the headmost ship, seeing one of his consorts taken, prudently crowded sail and endeavoured to escape, while the Louis Erasme did the same. However the latter was soon obliged to yield; and while the privateers were occupied with each a prize, the Deliverance had the good fortune to escape.

The captain of the Deliverance began to felicitate himself on his fortune; and consulting with his officers what course was most advisable to steer, one of them, acquainted with Louisbourg, recommended that port, which being the shortest navigation, the captain yielded to his suggestions, after the plan had been approved of both by the officers and the passengers.

On the 13th of August, they saw a brigantine plying in for Louisbourg, on which the Deliverance hoisted French colours, which was answered by the other firing two or three guns. This, however, occasioned no uneasiness; and in a short time, two men of war coming out of the harbour, still they supposed these might belong to a squadron of their country's ships, guarding that important place; and that the brigantine might be some privateer, with a design on the fishery. And here the reader's imagination will picture the complacency and joy which filled every heart, when they fancied themselves approaching the end of all their disasters; and the keen disappointment they felt, when their visionary schemes of delight ended in the real miseries of captivity—for the place was then in the hands of the English; and they found it impossible to fight or fly.

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The brigantine, which carried fifty guns, took possession of the Deliverance, and carried a very rich prize into port, while the two men of war, which were the Sunderland and the Chester, were ready to have yielded any requisite assistance.

Our author informs us, that all his secret papers were formed into a packet, and that he had given orders, that in case he should suddenly fall in any action, to have them thrown into the sea. When therefore it was found impracticable to escape, he threw the packet, loaded with bullets into the sea himself; but all the papers relative to the mensuration of the degrees of the meridian, together with the physical and astronomical observations, he saved; knowing that their contents were of universal concern, and that no national injury could be sustained from their inspection. But fearing lest they should be abused or confounded with others of less importance, he thought proper to acquaint the English captains on what service he had been employed, and recommended his manuscripts to their care.

Don Ulloa being sent to England, was confined at Fareham, a pleasant village at the bottom of Portsmouth harbour. "And here," says he, "I must not omit the courtesy and generosity of Captain Brett of the Sunderland, to all the prisoners of any rank, whom he not only admitted to his own table, but prevailed on the other officers to follow his good example; and who seemed to vie in civility towards us, and humanity towards the common men, sparing for nothing to alleviate our misfortunes."

Our author was committed to the care of Mr. Brookes, commissary for French prisoners, and paints his gratitude to him and to Mr. Rickman

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who acted in the same capacity for the Spaniards, in the most glowing colours. By the assistance of these gentlemen he was enabled to present a petition to the Duke of Bedford, then first lord of the admiralty, to obtain his papers; and the answer returned was honourable to Englishmen—they gave Ulloa to understand, that they were not at war with the arts and sciences, or their professors; that the British cultivated them, and that it was the glory of its ministers and great men to encourage and protect them.

Soon after our author obtained permission to repair to London, that he might renew his solicitations with greater ease and effect. Here he met with the most distinguished attention from the great and the learned; and acknowledges his sense of the kindnesses he received in a manner that shews he deserved them.

His papers having been examined by Mr. Folkes, president of the Royal Society, who made a very favourable report, they were immediately delivered up to him; and as a more illustrious testimony of esteem, he was admitted into the Royal Society, as a reward for what he had done in the service of mankind, by contributing to the improvement of science.

Don Ulloa, in summing up the favours received, gives this brilliant testimony to the national credit: "Actions like these," says he "convinced me of the sincerity of the English, their benevolence, and disinterested complaisance. I observed the tempers, customs, government, and police of this praise-worthy nation, which, in its œconomical conduct, and social virtues, may serve as a pattern to the rest of the world."

Being

Being next presented with his liberty, which had been granted on his first solicitation, our author embarked at Falmouth in the packet boat, and reached Madrid on the 26th of July 1746.

Soon after his arrival, his sovereign ordered his papers to be published under his own patronage; and, from the authentic memoirs with which he favoured the world, the preceding pages have been compiled. We with it always fell to our lot to record labours so meritorious, and to select from materials so interesting and correct.

END OF VOL. IV.

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